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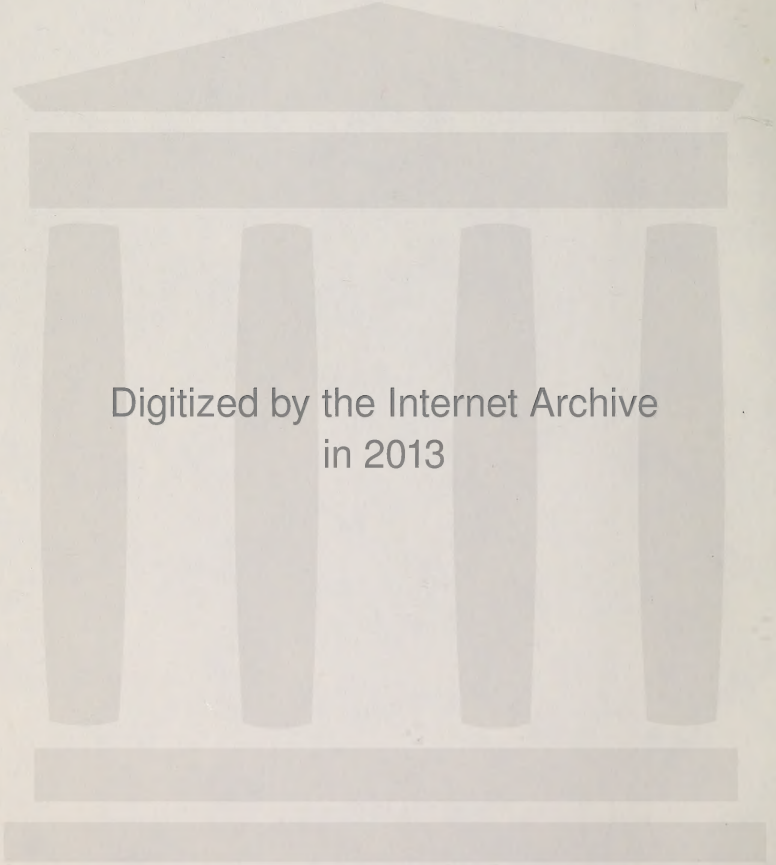
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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.—VOL. III.

THE EDWARDS PAPERS;

BEING A PORTION OF THE COLLECTION OF THE LETTERS, PAPERS, AND MANUSCRIPTS OF

NINIAN EDWARDS,

CHIEF-JUSTICE OF THE COURT OF APPEALS OF KENTUCKY; FIRST AND ONLY GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS TERRITORY; ONE OF THE FIRST TWO UNITED STATES SENATORS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS; THIRD GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

PRESENTED TO THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER 16TH, 1883,

BY HIS SON,

NINIAN WIRT EDWARDS,

EX-ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

EDITED BY

E. B. WASHBURNE,

EX-REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS; EX-SECRETARY OF STATE; EX-MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES TO FRANCE; VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADEMIE DES SCIENCES, BELLES LETTRES ET ARTS DE ROUEN, FRANCE; AUTHOR OF THE SKETCH OF EDWARD COLES, THE SECOND GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS AUTHOR OF THE PREFACE AND FOOT-NOTES TO FLOWER'S HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN EDWARDS COUNTY, ILLINOIS; ETC., ETC.

CHICAGO:
FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY.
1884.

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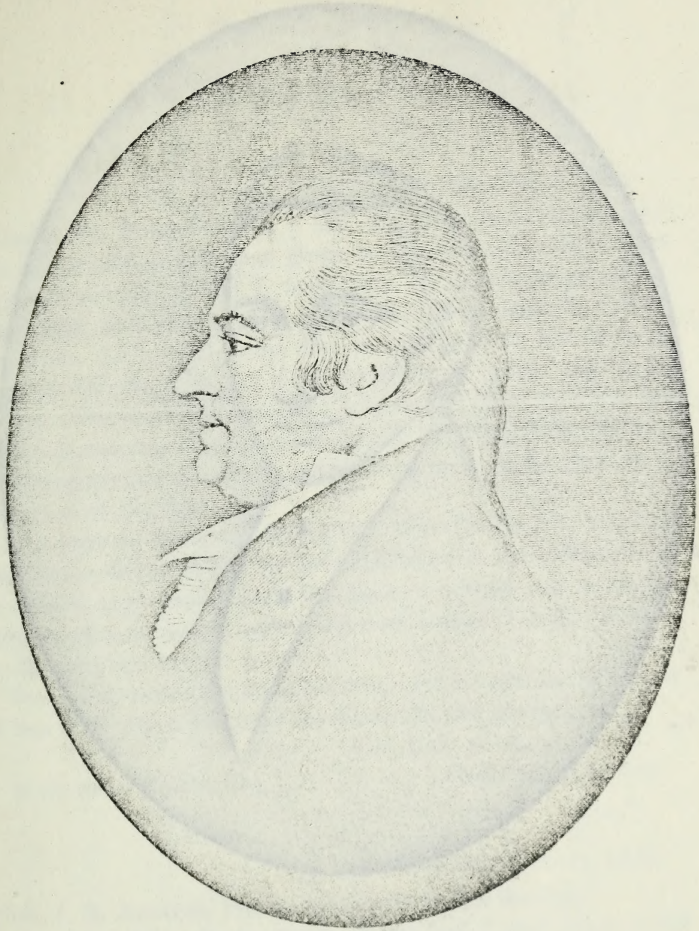

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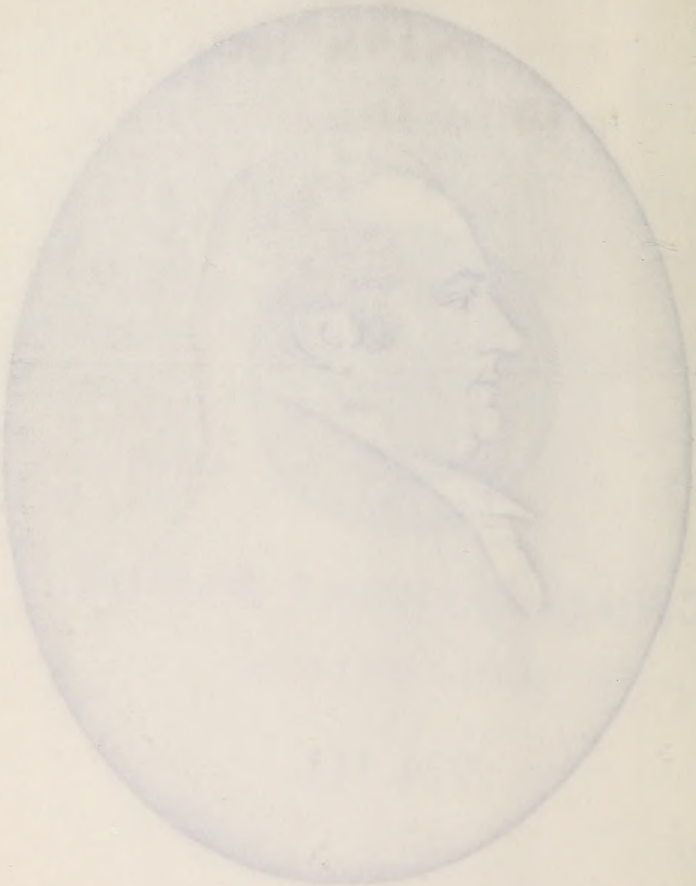

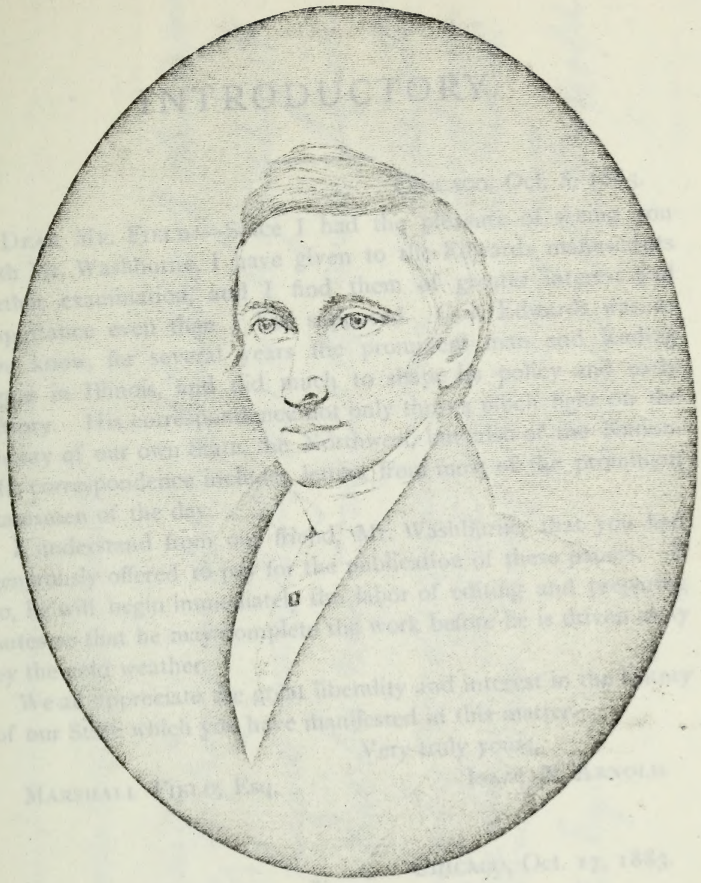

Your friend &c
Daniel P. Cook

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(Fac-simile Letter of [illegible])

ad generously offered to pay for the publication of the papers.
- so. he will begin immediatly the work of Editing &
paring notes, so that he may complete the work, before
he is driven away by the cold Weather. We all appreciate
the great liberality & interest in the history of our
State which You have manifested in this matter.

Very Truly Yours

Isaac N. Arnold

arshall Field. Esq.

(Fac-simile Letter of Isaac N. Arnold.)

Chicago, Oct 8, 1883.

Dear Mr Field:

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you with Mr Washburne, I have given to the Edwards Manuscripts further examination & I find them of greater interest & importance even than I had supposed. Gov. Edwards was as you know for several years the prominent man, & leading figure in Illinois, & did much to shape its policy & early history. His correspondence, not only throws much light on the history of our own State, & the Northwest but also of the Nation. His correspondence includes ~~inclu~~ letters from most of the prominent statesmen of the day. I understand from our friend Mr Washburne, that you had generously offered to pay for the publication of the papers. If so, he will begin immediately the work of Editing & preparing notes, so that he may complete the work, before he is driven away by the cold weather. We all appreciate the great liberality & interest in the history of our State which you have manifested in this matter.

Very Truly Yours

Isaac N. Arnold

Marshall Field. Esq.

(Fac simile Letter of Marshall Field.)

Chicago 17th Oct 1883.

Hon. I. N. Arnold
Pres't Chicago Historical Society.
My dear Sir:

On my return to the City, I find yours of 8th inst. and fully agree with you, that the Edwards papers should be published, and as Mr. Washburne has so kindly offered to give his valuable time to edit them, I shall cheerfully pay for same.

Very truly Yours,
Marshall Field

(Facsimile Letter of Marshall Field.)

PREFACE.

AT a meeting of the CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held on the evening of October 16, 1883, a presentation was made to the Society, of the letters, papers, and manuscripts of Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS, so long and honorably identified with the history of Illinois, both as a territory and as a state. This most valuable and interesting contribution was made by his son, Hon. NINIAN WIRT EDWARDS, a distinguished citizen of the State of Illinois. These papers have an exceptional historical interest, giving an inside view of our early times, and particularly of the politicians and the political methods of that day.

NINIAN EDWARDS had a long and distinguished political career. Born in Maryland in 1775, he removed to Kentucky in 1795, where he at once entered upon the stage of politics. Before he was of age, he was elected a member of the legislature of Kentucky. Studying law, he soon became distinguished in his profession, and at the early age of thirty-two years, he attained the high position of chief-justice of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky.

In 1809, Judge Edwards was appointed by President Madison the first governor of Illinois Territory, which position he held until its admission into the Union as a state in 1818. The territory thus becoming a state, Gov. Edwards was elected one of the first two senators to the Congress of the United States; his colleague, elected at the same time, being Hon. Jesse B. Thomas. Draw-

ing the short term, which expired on the third day of March, 1819, he was reëlected for the full term of six years. In that high position he displayed great ability and exceptional qualities as an intelligent and practical legislator. He retired from the senate in 1824, on his appointment as minister to Mexico, a position, however, which he resigned before proceeding to his post. In 1826, he became a candidate for governor of Illinois, and was elected after a remarkable canvass, in which he was pitted against immense odds, and which he conducted with unsurpassed ability. Able, independent, outspoken, he disdained all the acts of the ordinary politician; never descended to the low level of the demagogue, nor appealed to the passions or the prejudices of the people. Entering on the duties of his office, he served the State with conspicuous ability and usefulness till the end of his term in December, 1830. Rendered ineligible to a reëlection by a constitutional provision, Gov. Edwards determined never again to enter public life. But in the election for member of Congress in 1832, on the repeated and urgent solicitation of many friends in all parts of the district, whose wishes he felt bound to respect, he suffered his name to be used as a candidate. It turned out, however, that before he finally consented to the use of his name as a candidate, other candidates belonging to the same party, so far as political parties then existed in the State, were already in the field, diligently canvassing the district and obtaining many pledges of support. Under such circumstances, and making but little personal exertion, Gov. Edwards was defeated, the highest candidate against him having only a small plurality.

The correspondence published in this volume commenced when Mr. Edwards was a young lawyer in Kentucky about the year 1800. He then held friendly relations with Henry Clay, John Pope, United States Senator

for Kentucky, and many other prominent men of that period in the State. It was from the time when Judge Edwards was appointed governor of Illinois Territory in 1809, that the letters now published begin to have a real interest for the student of history. Here will be found letters from Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, John J. Crittenden, Martin D. Hardin, U. S. Senator from Kentucky, Benjamin Howard, Governor of Missouri Territory, Joseph Charless, the founder of the *Missouri Republican*, Shadrach Bond, delegate in Congress from Illinois Territory, Daniel P. Cook, William H. Crawford, Thomas H. Benton, and Richard M. Johnson. After the territory became a state, we find letters of John Reynolds, Gov. Edwards, Jesse B. Thomas, the colleague of Governor Edwards in the United States Senate, Rufus King, U. S. Senator from New York, William Wirt, President Monroe, Samuel D. Southard, U. S. Senator from New Jersey, John Pope of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Gen. Jackson, Wm. Lee D. Ewing, Felix Grundy, Sam Houston, Duff Green, Daniel Webster, Geo. Forquer, Gen. Joseph M. Street, John McLean, Postmaster-General, John McLean of Illinois, Sidney Breese, Alfred Cowles, Hugh Nelson, Minister to Spain, Martin VanBuren, Elias Kent Kane, John M. Robinson, David J. Baker, the three latter U. S. Senators from Illinois, A. P. Field, Hooper Warren, and many other gentlemen, all bearing on the events of the time.

In the interesting and valuable "History of Illinois and Life of Ninian Edwards," published by Hon. Ninian W. Edwards in 1870, there are a large number of very interesting letters published, which are not reprinted in this volume. Nearly all that is herein contained is original matter, and never before made public. I have added many notes to the text in explanation of the events of the time, and illustrating the personal and political char-

acter of many of the most prominent of our pioneers who helped to lay the foundations of our great commonwealth.

In the publication of THE EDWARDS PAPERS, here presented, the Chicago Historical Society and the public generally, are indebted to the characteristic liberality of Mr. MARSHALL FIELD, one of the best known and most highly esteemed citizens of Chicago, and one of the most distinguished merchants in the United States. After an examination of the letters, Mr. Field requested that the Historical Society should publish them at his individual expense. By this generous act, which is so gratefully appreciated, the Society is enabled to publish this volume. It is illustrated by steel engravings of Governor Edwards and Daniel P. Cook, and by *fac-similes* of many letters written to Gov. E., by some of his most distinguished cotemporaries.

At the urgent request of the officers of the Chicago Historical Society, I somewhat reluctantly consented to undertake the task of editing this volume and overseeing its publication. The interest it has awakened in my mind in our early history and the clearer view I have obtained of men and events of the epoch, have amply rewarded my labors, and the volume is now submitted to an indulgent public. E. B. W.

365 DEARBORN AVENUE,
CHICAGO, *January, 1884.*

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THE EDWARDS PAPERS.

CHAPTER I.

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LETTERS OF HENRY CLAY.

LEXINGTON, 9th July, 1800.

Mr. NINIAN EDWARDS;*

Dear Sir:—At the request of Col. Hart, I take the liberty of answering your favor of the 1st instant, for which he feels himself very much obliged.

He is happy to learn that you had recourse to attachments. And the court certainly did right in deciding

* Ninian Edwards removed from Maryland to Kentucky in 1795, at the age of twenty years, and soon afterward engaged in the study of law in Nelson Co., in the latter State. Distinguished at that early age by his natural gifts and education, as well as by his popular manners, in less than one year, and before he became of age, he was elected to the Legislature of Kentucky from Nelson Co.; and so satisfactorily did he discharge the duties of that position, that he was reëlected to the same office the subsequent year. This was before he was admitted to the bar and while yet a student at law. In 1798, he was licensed to practise law in Kentucky, and in the following years was admitted to the courts of Tennessee.

Removing to Russellville, Kentucky, he entered upon the practice of his profession. Among the earliest letters addressed to him as an attorney are

against Pitts and Hunter. With respect to the books, notes, and accounts of Dromgole, I should imagine that attachments sued out against him, and the creditors summoned as garnishees would be the most speedy, as well as the safest remedy. No doubt can exist but that Dromgole is completely within the description of an absconding debtor. As to the books of Dromgole & Co., I would recommend attachments against their creditors as garnishees also, provided in this measure you can obtain the concurrence of the other members of the company: the reason which you mention in favor of this mode of recovery, to wit that the statute of limitations could be obviated, since they would, upon their oaths, acknowledge the debts, would be alone sufficient to give it the preference. To remove any difficulty which may hereafter arise as to the evidence of the debts, I inclose you copies of the judgments.

The sale of the property to Pitts was unquestionably illegal, and may be set aside upon motion to the court, which possesses a power of superintending the execution of its judgments and correcting errors which may happen.

some from Henry Clay, in relation to some legal business in which his father-in-law, Colonel Hart, was interested. His first letter was dated at Lexington, July 9, 1800. All of these letters are here given at length. A portion of the first letter will also be found lithographed. It is interesting, as showing the character of Mr. Clay's handwriting at that period. It is a bold, clerkly hand, and quite different from the small and delicate handwriting in his later life. It is also interesting as showing his interest in political matters at that early age (he was then twenty-three years old). It is also interesting from the intention which he expresses of becoming a candidate for the clerkship of the Senate of Kentucky, and for the modest manner in which he states the grounds of his candidacy, one of which was that he had been a clerk in the office of the High Court of Chancery of Virginia, and had acted for some time as the amanuensis of the Chancellor.

The last section of the law regulating the mode of suing out attachments, expressly directs that goods attached shall be sold in the same manner as goods taken by virtue of a *fi. fa.*, which can not be unless they are in the possession of the sheriff 20 days after the writ is served (and by analogy after the order of court, which is the substitute of the writ, is given to him and he has, by virtue of it, taken the property), and after they have been advertised at least 10 days at the court-house door, and the most public places in the county. Mr. Ewing, I presume, must have been unapprised of his duty; because as he has always discovered the greatest alacrity to serve Col. Hart, it would be ungenerous to ascribe a different motive. Besides what the law expressly requires, the practice, so far as my knowledge of it extends, has been invariable to retain the property 20 days before it is sold. The sale you will be good enough to set aside, and have the property sold again, and purchase it in, if it is likely to be sacrificed, for Col. Hart. In this, as in all other instances where property is sold, you will, by virtue of the power of attorney which is inclosed, be pleased to purchase it for Col. Hart, if it should be about to be sacrificed. And after you have made purchases, you will do with the property as is most for his advantage, either by selling it upon a credit, bartering it, or retaining it.

The proposition of the bail is readily and cheerfully acceded to. Proceedings against them upon the *scire facias* shall be stopped, until the fate of their adventure is determined. And Col. Hart and myself will coöperate with them in any measures which may be deemed neces-

sary to ensure success. With respect to the history of Dromgole's elopement, and certificates of the integrity and respectability of the bail, they must come from your quarter. From your knowledge of both, you will be the best person to furnish them, and other gentlemen, I suppose, will join in giving the certificates. The infamy of the character of the Alstons (the old man in particular) is well known to Col. Hart. He was long a resident of N. Carolina, and I believe there was no doubt there, but besides almost every other species of crime, he counterfeited every emission of paper-money which took place during his residence there. But depositions will go with more propriety and with greater effect from the neighborhood in which he last lived. These the bail, I presume, will procure. I have no doubt but that the governor will lend any aid in his power; more especially if he finds that your name is in the certificates. It might, perhaps, be better to authorize the bail to collect the debt in that country; but as Col. Hart is not sufficiently acquainted with them, to know whether they can be safely confided in, he leaves this entirely to your discretion. If they are invested with such a power, it will be most advisable to take security from them for a faithful exercise of it.

With respect to Harrison's purchase of D's Tennessee land, there is no doubt upon your statement but that he may be made to pay the amount of the purchase-money. And you are right in supposing a suit in chancery the proper remedy. This you will be good enough to bring immediately. Besides the other necessary statements, let the bill allege that the conveyance to Alston is fraudu-

lent; that it is for the benefit of Dromgole; that a sale was made by Dromgole to Harrison after the conveyance; and that he is to receive the purchase-money. The prayer of the bill (in which Dromgole, Alston, and Harrison should all be made defendants) ought to be that Alston and Harrison may be enjoined and restrained from paying away, secreting, or otherwise disposing of any estate, debts, or effects in their hands belonging to Dromgole, until the further order of the court; that Alston be compelled to execute to Harrison a deed of conveyance for the land purchased by him of Dromgole; and that Harrison be compelled to pay the purchase-money to the complainant. Upon the subpœna which issues, it is usual in such cases to make an indorsement to this effect: "To enjoin the defts. Harrison and Alston from paying away, secreting, or in any other manner desposing of the effects or estate in their hands belonging to Dromgole, or the debts by them owing to him; he being indebted to the complainant;" and if, after they are served with this notice, they pay away any debts they may owe to Dromgole, or any of his effects in their hands, they are liable out of their own estates. At the return-day of the subpœna, an order of court should be made similar to the indorsement upon the subpœna. And you will obtain an order of publication against the non-residents.

I am sorry that Gilbert is released at law. It appears upon an examination of the papers, that there is but one recognizance of the special bail forwarded. But the clerk has entered up in both suits that recognizances were filed. A confession of judgment (which took place in these suits)

(Fac-simile Letter of Henry Clay)

it in your power to render me any service and think me deserving it, I will be much obliged to you for the favor

I am D^{r} Sir

Yr mo. ob.

Henry Clay

(Fac-simile Letter of Henry Clay)

I am happy to hear that we are anxious for the election of the same President. It is now almost certainly ascertained that Mr. Jefferson will be elected. The Election of Representatives in New York, has been in his favor, and he will it is affirmed certainly get every Vote in that State. You have no doubt heard that Pickering is dismissed and McHenry resigned. The violent friends of administration seem to be quitting public service. Harper is no longer a Candidate and Sedgwick the Speaker has also declined offering.

Permit me to inform you that as Mr. Thruston declines offering for the Clerkship of the Senate, I shall amongst many others be a Candidate for that office. Having lived in the Clerks office of the High Court of Chancery of Virginia and acted some time as the Amanuensis of the Chancellor I have been induced to believe that I can discharge the duties of that office. Should you have it in your power to render me any service and think me deserving it, I will be much obliged to you for the favor.

I am D^{r} Sir
Yr mo. ob.
Henry Clay

(Eso-Sinnia Letter of Barry Clay)

is a discharge of the appearance bail; because his undertaking is that the deft. shall appear and give special bail, if ruled thereto. And a confession of judgment (which might have been prevented without special bail had been previously given) necessarily supposes an appearance, and if no special bail is given, it will be implied that none was required. But although he is discharged at law, I am inclined to think equity will afford relief. It was certainly a *mistake* in the clerk to enter special bail in both causes, when a recognizance in one only had been filed. This mistake deceived the plaintiff's counsel, who would not have suffered a confession of judgment without special bail. Equity, therefore, will interfere and place the parties in the same situation in which they would have stood, had no mistake occurred. This reasoning, which I believe to be correct, in addition to what will, no doubt, suggest itself to you, may be employed with Gilbert to prevail on him to give his assistance. And if other attempts fail, we will try a suit in chancery against him.

It is Col. Hart's wish that you shall be most amply compensated for your services in his business, which, I am persuaded, has already given you a great deal of trouble. You can, for this purpose, appropriate such sums, out of any money of his which may come to your hands, as may be thought proper.

You must certainly attend to any prior engagements which you may have made that interfere with Col. Hart's business. But where such an interference happens, he will be much obliged to you if you can get yourself released so as to appear for him.

I received your note requesting me to appear for you in a suit against E. Holland. Mr. Brown had before put the papers into my hands, as he did not practice in Scott, where H. resides. I have brought suits, and if the records are properly authenticated, shall get judgments at the next August court; if they are not, I will inform you. H. says nothing is due; but he has a talent for lying.

I am happy to hear that we are anxious for the election of the same president. It is now almost certainly ascertained that Mr. Jefferson will be elected. The election of representatives in New York has been in his favor, and he will, it is affirmed, certainly get every vote in that State. You have, no doubt, heard that Pickering is dismissed and McHenry resigned. The violent friends of administration seem to be quitting public service. Harper is no longer a candidate, and Sedgwick, the speaker, has also declined offering.

Permit me to inform you that as Mr. Thurston declines offering for the clerkship of the senate, I shall, amongst many others, be a candidate for that office. Having lived in the clerk's office of the High Court of Chancery of Virginia, and acted some time as the amanuensis of the Chancellor, I have been induced to believe that I can discharge the duties of that office. Should you have it in your power to render me any service and think me deserving it, I will be much obliged to you for the favor.

I am, dear sir,

yr. mo. ob.,

HENRY CLAY.

LEXINGTON, 28th Feb., 1801.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 16th instant I received yesterday. With respect to the debt due from Dromgole to Harrison, it is Col. Hart's wish that it may continue bound to him until the fate of his suits at Nashville shall be decided. This I presume may be done. He regrets that his execution against the McKeys should have arrived too late, but I enclose another. He does not wish to purchase their land, because he is so distant from it and is in such want of money that it would be no object to him. Col. Hart is pleased to hear of the prospect of some money being collected; nothing is so desirable to him at present.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient,

H. CLAY.

P. S.—You will be pleased to pay Mr. Caldwell such fees as may be legally due to him.

LEXINGTON, 4th July, 1801.

DEAR SIR:—In consequence of the verbal message which Col. Hart received from you by Mr. Frazier he has hitherto delayed sending for the money which you wrote him to send for. I have lately engaged in a very expensive building, and to assist me in this undertaking Col. Hart has given me one-half of Dromgole's debt.

My wants are therefore very pressing, as indeed are his. I trust you will, my dear sir, do what you possibly can to assist us. Mr. Tevis is sent by us for the special purpose of receiving what you can raise, and to endeavour to draw this very troublesome business to a close.

In your last you said nothing relative to the attachment

against Harrison. Be pleased to let me know whether this debt is likely to be secured. Mr. Tevis will proceed on from Logan to Nashville for the purpose of seeing if any thing can be done with Dromgole, and if you can give him any information which may be serviceable to him, you will oblige us.

Col. Hart has been lately informed that Mr. Price agreed to release Mr. Jones and take Mr. Reading for one-third of the debt due from Dromgole & Company. Will you be good enough to examine the mortgage from Mr. Reading to Sam'l Price & Co.? It is either in Mr. Ewing the late sheriff's possession or recorded in Logan Court.

Should it throw any light upon this subject be pleased to forward it or a copy. Yrs, HENRY CLAY.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,
Logan Courthouse.

LEXINGTON, 25th Dec., 1801.

DEAR SIR:—Col. Hart placed your letter some short time after he received it in my hands to be answered. From a variety of causes, of business, absence from home, &c., better conceived than described, I have hitherto omitted, what I now set down to do, to write you an answer.

Inclosed is an execution against Hendley Russell. I thought that one might have been obtained against Stewart also. But to my surprise when I applied for it I found that the *scire facias* was not executed upon him. And have therefore sent an *alias*, to the service of which be pleased to attend.

Should any property of Russell be taken you will be pleased to advise Col. Hart or me of it, and whether it

would be advantageous for him to purchase it. It is unnecessary to observe how solicitous he is to get as much as possible of this debt, and that you should urge payment from Harrison & Blackburn.

Col. Hart and myself have supposed that six per cent upon the amount of what you have or may collect for him, together with a fee of 30/ for every case in which you shall have appeared for him, either before a jury in the country, or in court, would be a sufficient compensation for your services, which have been so useful to him. The usual commission in this part of the country is five per cent, but he supposes six ought to be allowed you in consideration of extraordinary trouble. You will be good enough to say whether you think your services will be sufficiently rewarded.

An order of court has been made in the suit against Dromgole in Tennessee requiring the production by Col. Hart of the mortgages, given by Dromgole, Ayers Stewart, and William Reading. They are I believe all recorded in the office of Logan. You will be good enough to obtain copies of them, or of such as may be there, and send them to John Overton, Esq. I will thank you also to send me a copy of the one given by Mr. Reading, and to jog that gentleman's memory about paying his proportion of the debt, for which it seems Dromgole is about to contend for a credit.

I believe I some time ago informed you that Ephraim Holland had filed a bill of injunction against Edward Gwinn. Inform me to whom I shall send it to procure an answer.

A friend of mine, Francis Brooke, Esq., in Virginia, feels extremely solicitous to have some land of his in your quarter of the country remarked and processioned, so as to preserve the boundaries against fraud or accident. He has written to me to have it accomplished if possible for him. I must trouble you so far as to ascertain whether you can get it done. Mr. Reading I suppose can do it. I should prefer he would to any other person. I will thank you to speak to him and know whether he can do it and write me what he will charge by post. They are two tracts of 1000 acres each, one lying on Cliff Creek, a branch of the Ohio, surveyed in 1785. The other on the waters of Poagues Creek, surveyed in 1785 also. Copies of the boundaries shall hereafter be sent. Perhaps if Mr. Reading cannot some other person can be procured to do it. Be pleased to attend to this for me particularly.

I am, dear sir, yours with esteem, H. CLAY.

P. S.—You will find inclosed an assignment of the execution against McKey. H. C.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,
Att° at Law,
Russellville.

(Fac-simile Letter of Mathew Lyon.)

may perhaps be expected to this Vicinity

I am Sir with great respect

your very Hble Servt

M Lyon

Hon Ninian Edwards

(Fac-simile Letter of Mathew Lyon.)

I fancy that the Northern Gentry begin to be alarmed for their Markets they begin to see that in proportion as the Western Country grows in population & industry their markets for Tobacco flour & Cotton will be over stocked. The Northern people want our Cotton hemp & Flax, & they dont care how much other produce we have to spare as they intend to be the Carriers

The best kind of Government first proposed for the New acquired Territory may perhaps be imputed to this Jealousy

I am Sir with great respect
your very Hble Servt
M Lyon

Hon Ninian Edwards

you before you dispaired of hearing from me, not so much on Doctor Catlet's account as some other considerations. When I came here I had in view to recommend the Doctor for the place of secretary of the new territory to

Vermont from 1797 to 1801. In January, 1798, an ineffectual effort was made to expell him from the House for having spat in the face of Roger Griswold, a member from Connecticut, who became governor of that State from 1811 to 1813. In October, 1798, Lyon was tried and convicted in Vermont for publishing a letter calculated "to stir up sedition, and bring the president and the government of the United States into contempt." He was found guilty and sentenced to be imprisoned for four months, to pay the costs and a fine of $1000. The fine with interest was afterward refunded by Congress to his heirs.

In 1799, Matthew Lyon left Vermont to settle in Kentucky, accompanied by his family and two sons-in-law, John Messenger and Dr. George Caldwell. Both of these gentlemen afterward (in 1802) settled in Illinois. Dr. Caldwell became a prominent citizen in this State and was a member of the State Senate from Madison County in 1818, and voted against the convention resolution. In 1803, Lyon "broke into Congress" from Kentucky, and served until 1811. John Messenger was a man of some note and was a member of the first State legislature from St. Clair County. Mr. Edwards became a candidate for Congress in 1806, and entered upon the canvass as against Lyon. In a speech in that canvass which has survived, one can but be struck with its ability and elevation of tone. In closing the speech, he says:

"I am anxious to attain the honor of serving my country. I have endeavored to qualify myself for it. But I am not deserving to attain this honor by any other than the most honorable means. I can never sacrifice my integrity, my ideas of propriety, or my independence to procure it. I do most sincerely wish your approbation, but I only wish it upon proper principles. The best criterion for judging the character of a man is by his acts."

Before the election took place, Mr. Edwards having been appointed judge of the Court of Appeals, he declined to be any longer a candidate. Lyon left Kentucky and settled in the territory of Arkansas. Not satisfied with having represented two States in Congress, he was elected the first delegate from Arkansas Territory, but died before taking his seat, in August, 1822. It might be added that he went to St. Louis in 1811, and in 1812 became a candidate for delegate to Congress from Louisiana Territory, but was beaten by Edward Hempstead. Matthew Lyon had a son, Chittenden Lyon, who was a member of Congress from Kentucky for three terms, the last of which expired March 3d, 1835. He died in Caldwell County, Kentucky, November 8th, 1842.

be formed in upper Louisiana. There are so many candidates that I had almost given it up. The talk now is to annex to Indiana Territory for the present all down to N. Madrid, below that until it comes opposite to Fort Adams to the Natchez Territory so form but one new Territorial Government.

The Doctor's concern with victualing the army has led him to wish for an appointment of surgeon's mate, for this I wanted no additional interest and was happy accidentally to find John T. Mason capable of giving his character. Should I think of any thing further for him I may apply to Mr. Wirt.

Georgia cession has occupied Congress the three last days and the question, (which is, shall our Commissioners proceed with the compromise) is not yet taken. Mr. Randolph says no; he had rather give it back to the Indians; he had rather the U. S. should lose the whole in a law suit; he had rather call out the National force and spend the National Treasure to defend it. Other Southern members say they don't wish for the compromise, they are satisfied to have the country lie uncultivated.

I fancy that the Southern gentry begin to be alarmed for their markets; they begin to see that in proportion as the Western country grows in population and industry, their markets for tobacco, flour, and cotton will be overstocked; the Northern people want our cotton, hemp, and lead, and they don't care how much other produce we have to spare as they intend to be the carrier.

The horrid kind of government first proposed for the

new acquired Territory may perhaps be imputed to this jealousy. I am, sir, with great respect,

your very humble servant, M. LYON.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS.

LETTERS OF JOHN POPE.*

January 9th, 1808.

DEAR SIR:—I received yours of the 14th December. I sincerely regret your ill-health as well on account of the delay of business in the Court as yourself personally. I will attend to Ficklin's business and on to-morrow will see the secretary of the navy with whom I am very gracious. Your friend Rowan is very much disliked by the republicans, almost despised. He has fallen far short of expectation on the score of talents. He has indeed made

* The place from which this letter was written was not given, but was undoubtedly Springfriend, Kentucky, which was the residence of Mr. Pope. He served as United States senator from Kentucky for one term, from 1807 to 1813; and was afterward territorial governor of Arkansas from 1829 to 1835. Returning to Kentucky, he was three times elected to Congress, ending his service March 3, 1843. He was a man of great ability and force of character. I heard him make a speech in the House of Representatives in March, 1840. He was then a whig. He lost his right arm in youth by an accident, and wrote with his left hand.

It was at the time of this visit of mine at Washington, March, 1840, that the New-Jersey contested-election cases were under discussion in the House of Representatives. It was a time of intense political excitement, as the campaign between VanBuren and Harrison had been fully entered upon. R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia was speaker of the House. The House of Representatives at that time was a very able one, containing many of the most distinguished men in the country. The debate was participated in by Millard Fillmore and Daniel D. Barnard of New York, Truman Smith of Connecticut, George Evans of Maine, William J. Graves of Kentucky, George N. Briggs and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Mark A. Cooper of Georgia, Edward G. Stanley of North Carolina, and John M. Botts and Henry A.

out but tolerable in debate. He will never have much influence in a legislative assembly. He has neither eloquence nor judgment for such a situation. He can only shine before a jury or in conversation. He is completly redeemed from the reputation of a great man or a republican. Key of Maryland, Dana of Connecticut, are able men, and respected by the republicans although in the opposition; Berent Gardenier from New York, a high-toned fed., and Rowan are very much disliked. Randolph* is a correct, elegant and interesting speaker, but not able or argumentative. He has no pretensions to the character of a statesman. He seems merely to annoy and find fault. He is a little, ill-natured, malignant, overbearing, electioneering, and on some occasions contemptible man in

Wise of Virginia, on the one side, and by George C. Dromgoole of Virginia, Alexander Duncan and William Medill of Ohio, David Petrikin of Pennsylvania, Hopkins L. Turney of Tennessee, and Francis E. Rives of Virginia, and others, on the opposite side.

One of the characters in the House at this time was David Petrikin of Danville, Pa. He was a vehement democrat; a small man, dressed in rather a seedy suit of Quaker-cut clothes, and wearing a long *queue*. He was almost always on the floor on some question.

The members of Congress from Illinois at that time were Zadoc Casey, John Reynolds, and John T. Stuart. I heard the Old Ranger make one of his peculiar speeches, which, for its quaint expressions and delivery, excited much laughter in the House. It was only in 1843 that I made the acquaintance of Hon. John T. Stuart, then, as in 1840, a Whig member of Congress. I had the honor of serving with Mr. Stuart, who was a democratic member of the 38th Congress. From 1843, there has existed the strongest feelings of personal friendship between us. It was in that winter of 1843, when at Washington on my return from New England to Galena—my then place of residence—that Mr. Stuart insisted that I should not make that long, cold journey without taking his buffalo-robe. It kept me from freezing to death on the night of the 10th of February, 1843, when passing over the prairie from Princeton to Dad Joe's Grove.

* Undoubtedly John Randolph of Roanoke.

debate. His attack on Wilkinson, although it has done him no credit here will procure him some momentary applause in our country. The object of it is certainly to injure the administration; a court of inquiry is ordered by the President which will commence its sittings next week. I hope all treasons and conspiracies will be exploded and the body politic purged of all its rotten members so far at least as to have them exposed. Mr. Lyon has turned fed., at least he opposes the administration; he has been disappointed in some contracts he wished to make with government for the saline licks, and expects by lessening the popularity of the administration to injure Madison, to whom he is opposed as the next president, and thereby benefit old Clinton our Vice-President, who is Madison's competitor. A large majority of the republicans are I believe in favour of Madison. I am decidedly and if you are let me solicit you to become an elector and prepare the public mind as early as possible to hail this enlightened statesman and virtuous republican as their next chief-magistrate. Warden Pope will offer. I believe also Trimble. Monroe will not be voted for. I am very much gratified that my Green-river bill has had the desired effect, and that the bank promises to fulfil the predictions of its friends.

If you could make it suit you to come to Congress I am satisfied you would be pleased with it. I have no doubt but that you could lead the republicans if you were now a member. Your wages would support you if you should bring your lady with you. Matthew Lyon wrote a letter for publication against the embargo, which induced me to

come out in its favour. I wrote in haste and fear I was guilty of some inaccuracies. Please to write me how it is relished. About two-thirds of the members of the House of Representatives are decided and firm supporters of the administration, nearly one-fourth federal and a few, perhaps ten or twelve, trimming, quiddical fellows. A man must be the one thing or the other to be influential or useful. The Senate is divided in the same manner. The republicans are rather stronger in the Senate. Partyism has its limits; a man should never sacrifice a great principle at the shrine of party, but he must not be too nice or squeamish upon subordinate questions.

Please to have my address to the people published in the Bairdstown and Russellville papers, but don't let it be understood that it was done at my request.

I shall be pleased to hear from you as often as convenient.

Please to write me the names of a few characters in the Green-river country to whom it would be adviseable for me to drop a line and enclose a newspaper. I have embarked in political life and mean to make a business of it. I occupy much higher ground here both on the score of talents and republicanism than either you or myself expected, except Breckenridge no man from the West ever had more popularity in Congress. I don't know how long I may hold it. This letter is very confidential which, when you have perused, commit to the flames without showing it to any person. Your friend and relative, J. POPE.

Nota bene.—Rowan disclaims party, but the republicans disown him and the feds certainly claim him. These

remarks are intended for yourself and not for circulation. There are enough to tell on us without our telling on each other. I wish very much to inspire confidence in the administration at the present crisis on account of our foreign relations as well as Western treasons and conspiracies. In proportion to the diminution of public confidence in the administration will the spirit of disunion grow. It has been checked but not extinguished. Wilkinson is the hobby-horse to disaffect the people of the West and to ride down the present administration. It will not succeed. Rose, the British envoy, has not arrived. I can tell you nothing on the subject of war.

Your friend and relative, JOHN POPE.

January 9th, 1808.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Now near Bairdstown, Kentucky.

1744311

SENATE CHAMBER, Dec. 8. 1808.

DEAR SIR:—I have only to inform you that a bill is now before us for more effectually enforcing the embargo, which will pass, and an effort will be made to give the system a fair experiment. In the meantime every preparation will be made for war, which I fear is inevitable. It is impossible to calculate the effect of the embargo system. It will, it must be adhered to for the present. I hope it will prove efficient. By the spring some important changes may take place in Europe which may have an influence on our foreign relations. A competent force will be immediately sent to Orleans which will afford an additional market for the pork and flour, &c. of the Western

country. I will write you weekly. Our Legislature must support us. Your friend and relative,

JOHN POPE.

You must be careful not to intimate any doubts of mine of the efficiency of the embargo. J. P.

NEW YORK, Nov. 9th, 1809.

DEAR SIR:—I have made the tour of New England and am thus far on my return to Washington, where I expect to arrive about the 19th or 20th instant. I received yours of the 30th August and 2nd of September on yesterday; they were forwarded to me at this place. I am very happy to find that you and my brother are likely to harmonise on the administration of the new-government. Nothing gives me so much uneasiness as discord and feeling among my relations. We have enemies enough to contend with without making war upon or detracting from each other. I love the man of philanthrophy and universal benevolence. If we could all learn to view mankind upon so large a scale as to consider the whole human race as one community and to consider it the duty of each to identify himself with the whole; the selfish, unjust, and arbitiary policy of nations with regard to each other would cease; war would be forever no more; our swords would be turned into pruning hooks, our guns into plough shares; mankind would soon be blessed with the promised millennium. Indeed in my contemplative moments I sometimes indulge myself with the imaginary hope that the Supreme Being has raised up two monsters, the one with cruel despotic rule on the water the other on the land to scourge

all nations to such a degree as to make them all hate war and to love justice and peace. I fancy that they will be taught this lesson, the only one necessary to make mankind virtuous and happy; that the happiness and prosperity of every man is intimately connected with that of his neighbor; that his happiness and welfare is promoted and secured rather by the prosperity than the depression of his neighbors; that the commerce, prosperity, and happiness of each nation is increased not diminished by the depression of other nations. This social principle of loving our neighbors as ourselves, inculcated by christianity, would redeem mankind from the innumerable evils with which they are afflicted and fill the measure of human felicity. Although, like the practical politician, I am not averse to a little theory and agreeable speculation. I have not entire confidence in the doctrine of human perfectibility, but it is certainly laudable to approach it as nearly as possible. When we retrospect the last forty years and consider the astonishing revolution in morals, intellect, &c., which has taken place in a very large portion of the globe, why not anticipate a progressive improvement? Why not improve in the science of government and human happiness as well as in chemistry, physic, and law? Evil or error is rarely corrected when combined with a reasonable portion of good. Mankind generally cannot trace or explore evil or error in all its ramifications or the causes which produce it. They must be taught by experience. They are convinced through the medium of the senses, virtue, generosity, &c.; when exhibited in a lovely, striking manner sometimes subdue vice, meanness, &c.; and vice, meanness

when represented in all their deformity sometimes reform the worst of mankind. War and despotism upon the land and water now oppress almost every people on the globe. The whole world will, I hope, from experience soon be convinced of the evil, and correct it. The consequences will soon recoil on the nations which produced those monsters and they will rise and destroy them. Then, and not till then, can we hope to hail the millennium. Until that period arrives each nation must consider itself a distinct community and act upon the principle of self-preservation, taking care however by its example to teach other nations to love peace and justice, and thereby hasten that blissful æra. That the social christian principle which makes the good and the wise man identify himself with his neighbors should, at least, pervade the American empire, is the first and most ardent wish of my heart, but until that is the case every man, with a view to the public good, must connect himself in some slight degree with a political party and for the sake of his own political preservation and usefulness with minor parties, &c. We must, therefore, in the present state of things, identify ourselves with those allied to us by ties of blood and such others as we can rally around us by all honorable means, observing at the same time that liberal course which, while it will have a good effect on society, will fill our bosoms with pleasant heavenly sensations, and what more immediately influences human action, will strengthen our own party. I will not yield to the present current of my mind and feelings by intruding on this subject, but say a few, and but very few words on the subject of your letter.

You attach too much importance to your errors, if guilty of any. No written communications can be made to the President. Of course, I cannot show him your letter; but can to the secretary of state, through whose department everything must go to the President. The subordinate affairs of your territory will excite but little interest at Washington unless something meritricious or outrageously wrong should be committed. I stand too strongly pledged to the executive for your capacity, politics, &c., for anything to be done or listened without consulting me or having some strong evidence against you. They don't lend a very eager ear to complaints against their officers. Obey your own judgment and sense of propriety; stand well with intelligent impartial men; pursue a course that will bear retrospection, and you have nothing to apprehend. Your view of your administration appears very satisfactory. Without intending to censure you as a public officer, I must be permitted with my usual frankness to doubt the wisdom of your course as it regards yourself. It is probable that I should have approved it if on the spot. I think you have discovered too strong a disposition to compromise with the parties and to avoid responsibility. This policy I have in some instances pursued myself and am now convinced that I erred. It would have been better to have assumed the responsibility and made all your officers and their connections and friends your friends. Disappointed candidates will soon leave the territory, and their clamour, if you had appointed proper characters, would have lasted but for a moment. Those you appointed would have been fastened to the soil

and formed rallying points for their friends and connections in other places who might be disposed to emigrate. I don't know whether the remark applies to your course, but experience has convinced me that a man ought not to cool his friends by compromising with his or their enemies.

I doubt the propriety of requiring the militia to elect unless it was to be a law or uniform rule and binding on the Governor. You will be responsible for the appointments. Suppose they elect an improper person, could you justify it to yourself or the government to appoint him? I make these suggestions, they are unprepared, of the moment, and may be very incorrect, without indending to convince. Your course would appear to be fair, and calculated to give satisfaction; but I give it as my most decided opinion that it will be more correct and better policy to assume the responsibility. I am sorry you removed Rector and appointed Morrison, although you acted correctly. The Rectors are honest men and would have been your firm friends. Morrison I know to be a scoundrel and will not be your friend unless you do the hundredth good turn and is identified with a party which will require more of you than you can do for them. Robert Morrison professed to be a friend to Nat. Pope, although Nat. would not speak to his brother, and clandestinely signed a petition to the executive containing some very strong representations against him. This I have not communicated to Nat. Pope, nor can I consent that you should give him the slightest intimation of it. I saw the paper with his signature; it was shown me by a friend who would be unwilling to have his name used. Please to show this letter, except

what relates to Morrison, to Nat. Pope; from his letters to me and yours I presume you can have no objection. I will write you from Washington on some other subjects. I shall reach there about the 20th instant. I have been much gratified by my tour. The reaction is very tranquil, and not the least expectation of war with any party where I have been. I hope to see you all next summer. Happiness attend you and yours. Your friend,

JOHN POPE.

This letter is written in haste in the public dining-room; you will therefore excuse anything amiss. J. P.

His Excl. N. EDWARDS,
Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

CHAPTER III.

Letter of Shadrach Bond, Jr.; his complaint of Maj. Whiteside; declines to enter into a contest with him; sketch of Mr. Bond; his energy, judgment, and sound common-sense; called "Captain Bond"; his case like that of Chief-Justice Marshall, who was called "General Marshall"; his early residence in Illinois Territory; member of the General Assembly of the Northwestern Territory and afterward of the Indiana Territorial Legislature; first delegate to Congress from Illinois Territory; first governor of the State of Illinois; removes from the American Bottom to Kaskaskia; the house he built there, now in the last stages of dilapidation; his death on April 14, 1830; his remains removed to Chester; the State erects a monument to his memory; description of him by Governor Reynolds; letter of Albert Gallatin (fac-simile) in relation to the United States Salines; sketch of Mr. Gallatin; his long and honorable public career; letter of John J. Crittenden; appointed by Governor Edwards attorney-general for Illinois Territory; the appointment declined; his long and distinguished career in public life; letter of H. Butler about the Salines; letter of William Wallace on the same subject; letter of Acting-Governor Frederick Bates of Missouri Territory; letter of Lieut. Price, from Fort Massac; description of the old military post; letter of Thomas T. Crittenden resigning the office of attorney-general of Illinois Territory; letter of Governor Benjamin Howard of Missouri Territory.

LETTER OF SHADRACH BOND, JR.*

ST. CLAIR COUNTY, July 2nd, 1809.

DEAR SIR:—Since I parted with you at Kaskaskia I

* It was on the 11th of June, 1809, that Ninian Edwards took the oath of

have thought seriously on the subject of Major Whiteside's petition as well as his letter of complaint to you. He states that Governor Harrison made the appointment of colonel solely for the purpose of political views, and that he addressed him for redress signed by a respectable ma-

office, and entered upon the duties of governor of Illinois Territory. This letter of Governor Bond was written only a short time thereafter. He signed himself "Shadrach Bond, Jr.," although the name of his father was Nicholas Bond. He added the junior to his name at this time to distinguish himself from his uncle, Shadrach Bond, with whom he resided in the American Bottom. His residence at the time this letter was written was on his farm in what is now Monroe County. This county was constituted in 1816, and taken out of the counties of St. Clair and Randolph. Mr. Bond was a man of great energy, good judgment, and sound common-sense, but his education had been very limited, and the letters written by him show him to have been somewhat illiterate. He was a man of active mind and great enterprize. He served as a ranger under the rank of captain in the War of 1812. And it was as "Captain Bond" that he was known and called by his old friends and acquaintances, even after he had been elected governor. This was somewhat as in the case of Chief-Justice Marshall. In a speech of the Hon. Thomas Haynes Bayly of Virginia, which I heard him make in the 33d Congress, in speaking of Chief-Justice Marshall, he apologized for calling him General Marshall, for he said that was the title he went by to the day of his death by his old neighbors and friends in Forquier County, Virginia. They preferred the old and familiar title of general, which he had acquired after the close of the Revolutionary War, to the illustrious title of chief-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Bond was born in Maryland in 1773, and emigrated to Illinois in 1794. He was a member of the Indiana Territorial Legislature before Illinois was set off as a distinct territory; but he never appears to have been a member of the Legislature of either the Territory or State of Illinois. He had, however, it is very evident, much popularity and consideration with the people of Illinois at that time, for he was elected first governor of the State in 1818 without any practical opposition. At that time the duties of the office of governor were comparatively limited and unimportant, but he seems to have discharged all of them honestly and faithfully. He was elected the first delegate to Congress from the territory and took his seat on the 3d of December, 1812. He resigned in 1814, to take the office of Receiver of Public Moneys at Kaskaskia. It was at this time that he removed from his farm on the American Bottom to Kaskaskia, and settled on a farm near the village. He built a large two-story brick house, with broad verandas around it, after the Southern

jority of the officers, which I suppose to be such a majority as he has to the petition addressed to Governor Boyle and handed to yourself. There are several names to the petition who are not officers. Samuel S. Kennedy was commissioned as a captain of a grenadier company

fashion. Of a generous disposition and jovial spirit, his home was the seat of an old-fashioned hospitality. It was here that he resided before and during the time that he was governor, and until his death, April 14th, 1830.

This house, built upon his farm, a mile and a half from the village of Kaskaskia, commodious and elegant for the time, and the theatre of many interesting political events, has long since been abandoned, and is now in the last stages of dilapidation. The wooden verandas have all rotted away, the doors and windows have been taken out; but enough remains to show the numerous large and convenient rooms in the house at the time when it was built. The house, now surrounded by bushes and weeds and grass, presents a picture of desolation sad to look upon.*

After serving out his term of office in 1822, Governor Bond became a candidate for Congress in 1824, against Daniel P. Cook. He ran as a friend of Mr. Crawford, but Mr. Cook beat him by more than 3000 votes, in a total vote of about 12,000.

Governor Bond was buried at Kaskaskia, but his remains have recently been removed to Chester, and the State, out of gratitude and respect, has just erected a monument to the memory of its first governor. The first public service of Shadrach Bond was that of member of the General Assembly in the second grade of territorial government for the Northwestern Territory. This body met at Cincinnati on the 4th day of February, 1789. He was elected from St. Clair Co., while John Edgar was elected from Randolph Co.

Governor Reynolds in his "Pioneer History of Illinois," first published in 1852, one of the most original and amusing histories ever written, and yet full of information and anecdote, all mixed up together without order or method, pays a glowing compliment to Governor Bond, and paints him in fantastic characters; describing his personal appearance, he says: "he was six feet tall, person erect, bearing dignified, noble, and commanding; complexion dark; hair a glossy jet black; eyes large, brilliant, and of a hazel color." Continuing his description, he says: "With such character as Bond possessed, and with his fine person, he was a great favorite with the ladies. Yet his gallantries, although many, were always *circumscribed with propriety*. He possessed the capital in this branch of business, but never traded in it to any great extent." Bond County was named after him.

* Personal observation.

which was about to be raised some two or three years before he was commissioned; after he had the commission, those men, or a number of them, refused to muster under him, and he never raised a company after he was qualified, as the law directs. From these circumstances it strikes me he can not be considered as an officer of the regiment. John Newman, Robert Whiteside, and David Whiteside (whose names are to the petition) have never been commissioned in any case whatever to my knowledge. Now, sir, to leave Kennedy out of the regiment as an officer, without counting Major Whiteside or myself, on this side of the mouth of the Illinois river, there are twenty-nine officers, thirteen of which have signed the petition; this leaves a balance of sixteen which have not signed, though they have been called on either by Major Whiteside or his son, Uel. Though they have not an equal number of officers, yet they will represent to your excellency that a respectable majority of the officers have signed the petition. I refer you to Mr. Pope's list of officers to prove my assertion. As it is not to be expected that you can be well acquainted with the character of Mr. Whiteside, I shall send you the certificate of Thomas Todd, Esq., which will enable you to judge whether or not Whiteside has been that terror to Desouganinors as represented in his petition.

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* * . These with other reasons I believe induced Governor Harrison to give me the appointment over Whiteside. As I never wish to brake on the character of any man, I am sorry to be compelled to do it now;

nor would I but to show your excelleney the character of the man which you propose for me to go into an election with for the Col. appoint. Altho' I should be under no apprehensions but that I should have a large majority of the people in my favour, yet I can not condesend to put myself on a level with such a character as Major Whiteside. It now rests with you to appoint who you may think proper. I am, dear sir,

yours respectfully and sincerely,

SHADRACH BOND, JR.

LETTER OF ALBERT GALLATIN.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Sept. 8th, 1809.

SIR:—I have to return my thanks for the satisfactory information you have transmitted respecting the Saline, and also for the trouble you have taken in investigating the charges against the land commissioners. The President, who is now absent, is expected here the latter end of

* This letter of Mr. Gallatin's—of which a lithograph is given—was written while he was secretary of the treasury under Mr. Madison. Mr. Gallatin was secretary of the treasury during both terms of Mr. Madison, all of the first term of Mr. Monroe and a part of his second term; having held the position of cabinet officer for a longer period than any man ever in a cabinet position. He was a Swiss by birth, and emigrated to this country in 1780, and soon after joined a body of the Revolutionary troops at Machias, Maine. Few men in the United States ever had a more distinguished and a more honorable career than Mr. Gallatin.

Naturalized as an American citizen in 1785, he was a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention in 1789. He was elected United States Senator from Pennsylvania in 1793, but was not allowed to take his seat, for the reason that he had not been naturalized a sufficient length of time to make him elligible. His case was parallel to that of James Shields of this State, who was elected senator in 1849, but who was not permitted to hold his place for the same reason that Mr. Gallatin was excluded—not having been a citizen

(Fac-simile Letter of Albert Gallatin)

On the Subject of the Land Claims
I have the honour to be with great
respect

Sir Your obed.t Serv.t

Albert Gallatin

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

(Fac-simile Letter of Albert Gallatin)

On the Subject of the Land-Comm[rs].
I coincide fully with your opinion, so far as you have expressed it although I wish that circumstances had permitted you to give it more explicitly. But I am fully sensible of the difficulty of your situation in the present afflicting state of the territory of Illinois. I earnestly wish that you may succeed in restoring order & harmony, or at least that you may be permitted to fulfill yours duties without becoming obnoxious to either of the local parties. If that is impossible, there is but one line to be pursued; and I am sure it will be yours.
I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir
Your obed[t] Serv[t]
Albert Gallatin

(Fac-simile Letter of Albert Guillaume)

this month, and, the papers being voluminous, I will wait for his return before I lay those two subjects before him.

The present lessees of the Saline strongly object to its subdivision; and I cannot say how the President will decide. My present impression is generally in favor of the outlines which you have proposed.

On the subject of the Land-Commiss'rs I coincide fully with your opinion, so far as you have expressed it although I wish that circumstances had permitted you to give it more explicitly. But I am fully sensible of the difficulty of your situation in the present afflicting state of the Territory of Illinois. I earnestly wish that you may succeed in restoring order and harmony, or at least that you may be permitted to fulfill your duties without becoming obnoxious to either of the local parties. If that is impossible, there is but one line to be pursued, and I am sure it will be yours.

I have the honor to be with great respect, sir,

Your obedt. servt.,

ALBERT GALLATIN.

for a sufficient time. He was afterward elected for many terms to Congress from Pennsylvania, and was secretary of the treasury, as above stated.

In 1814, he was sent as one of the joint ministers plenipotentiary to negotiate the Treaty of Ghent; and in 1815, he negotiated a commercial convention with Great Britain. February 28th, of the same year, he was appointed minister to France, and served until May 16th, 1823, being a longer term of service than any minister of the United States in France, with the exception of the writer of this note, whose term of service was two months longer than Mr. Gallatin's. He was afterward minister of the United States to Great Britain from May 10th, 1826, to October 4th, 1827. In all the high positions which Mr. Gallatin filled, he discharged his every duty with the most distinguished ability, and has left a name which will be forever honored in the annals of this country. He died August 12th, 1849, at Astoria, Long Island. Gallatin County in this State was named after him by Governor Edwards, in 1816, and during the time of the territorial existence of Illinois.

I write to the Commrs. according to your suggestion without waiting for the President's final decision. A. G.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,
Governor of the Illinois Territory, Russelville, Kenty.

LETTER OF MR. JOHN J. CRITTENDEN.*

DEAR SIR:—You were apprised last evening of the propositions I intended making to Majr. Bibb. When I was about to write to him this morning on the subject my feelings made me shrink from the task. He is not exactly the man, sir, of whom I could ask such a favour. I very much respect Majr. Bibb and have much cause so to do, but I am fearful he would feel some apprehension and uneasiness at serving me in the proposed way. This is written to you, sir, in the spirit of that candour and freedom which you have been so good as to invite.

I am, with all respect and esteem,

JNO. J. CRITTENDEN.

Russellsville, October 9th, 1809.

* After the writing of this letter to Governor Edwards by Mr. Crittenden, the Governor offered him the position of attorney-general for the Territory of Illinois. The appointment was declined by Mr. Crittenden in a very graceful and cordial letter, dated Feb. 24th, 1810, and published in Edward's "History of Illinois," p. 36. Mr. Crittenden had a long, distinguished, and brilliant career in public life. He served for many terms as United States Senator from Kentucky, was attorney-general for a short time under General Harrison, and afterward under President Fillmore. I had the honor of serving with him as a member of the 37th Congress from 1861 to 1863. He was distinguished as a statesman, an orator, and a lawyer. He was a man of the most charming personal qualities. He was a strong Union man. He died at Frankfort, Kentucky, July 26th, 1863, at the age of 77 years.

LETTER OF H. BUTLER.*

U. S. SALINE, March 13, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR:—Since the 26th of February I have been at this place where I hoped to have found you on my arrival; disappointed in that I then expected to see you with the close of every day; my hopes are now over and I set out for Logan to-day. What in the name of heaven or in any other name can detain you at Kaskaskia? I am much disappointed in not seeing you here, for many, very many reasons besides selfish ones; besides I promised Mrs. Edwards to carry you with me on my return; this pledge I cannot redeem, and you must incur every penalty; for your satisfaction you may be told that Mrs. E. and your little ones were in health on the morning I came thro' Russelville, I saw her myself. When you arrive here I fear you may not have leisure to attend to our saline business; upon that subject I had much to say to you which must be deferred till we meet. Will you be good enough to recollect however and point out to the U. S. Agent what the limits of our establishment are, as you know that by the terms of lease we not only forfeit the penalty of $120,000 but forfeit the possession of the premises also, should we permit the sale of spirits or the settlement of persons within our limits; as these bounds have never as yet been defined we are much at a loss to know how far

* This letter of Mr. Butler is in relation to operating the United States Salt-Works on the Wabash, in which he appears to have been interested. Governor Edwards was at this time the superintendent of the United States Saline, and it was his duty to make all contracts for leasing the salt-works, collect rents, and provide for the shipment and sale of the salt, which was delivered to the Government in lieu of a cash rent.

(geographically) our jurisdiction extends; point out this and we will strictly conform. It is very much wished by us also that you would *particularly* instruct the Government Agent whose duty it appears properly to be, that upon our representing to him that persons are within the limits intending or committing a breach of the stipulations in the lease, to take steps for removing them, in which he will have the co-operation of our agent; and it is advisable in my opinion to instruct them how far they may go justifiably in compelling obedience to the orders they may issue touching this matter. Upon this subject my own opinion has been given, but as that may be inaccurate, I desire yours to correct it if it be so, and if it be well founded, I still desire your opinion to fortify it. Pray afford us a supply of good timber for our furnaces that we may thereby make the most of our establishment; you will see our experimental *air furnace* for the purpose of diminishing fuel; I think you will be pleased with its operation and satisfied that the plan will effect the object intended; it will yet be improved so as to lessen the quantity now used. I have much to say to you and a proposition to make in regard to the manufacture of salt with coal, altogether, but this will be reserved for a personal communication. I beg you will instruct our agent particularly as to the manner of finishing our *new wells* so as to bring them within the meaning of *permanent improvements;* give him your sanction also for laying the new lines of pipes; for altho' I think Government intends to pay for all lines of pipes laid by the present lessees, as well as those laid by the former lessees, still the thing is not clear,

and your permission will remove all doubt. There are some other matters of minor importance, as leave to sub lease, etc., etc., etc., which Mr. White, our agent, will inform you of and upon which it will be necessary to have your approbation; all this can very well be done by him and I therefore forbear to specify the several matters upon which it may be necessary to obtain your assent. Your unexpected delay has prevented us from completing the contract with you for the purchase of the salt of the Government. I hope this may be done when you get to Logan, altho' it cannot so well be done there as it might have been at this place. I mentioned to Mr. Wilkins your disposition to accommodate us with the salt on hand and thereby prevent an unfavorable competition. I mentioned also the terms upon which the contract would be effected, (at least I gave him the outline) as however nothing can be done in that matter conclusively until I have the pleasure of seeing you myself. I think it unnecessary for you to say much to Mr. Isaac White on the subject, for reasons which may be given to you hereafter it may be well for you to reserve yourself on this contract until we can confer; one very obvious reason to Mr. White for this course, will be that *we* have already agreed upon the basis of the contract, and have only to reject or to comply with the stipulations annexed in order to make it complete and final. I have given the late lessees a receipt for $2,500 for so much due by them to the United States in which I promise to pay you the money on demand. Will you be good enough to take up that recpt. and give them your own for the money which shall be subject to your order

whenever your occasions may require it, agreeable to the arrangement made with you at Kaskaskia?

As soon as I hear of your arrival I shall do myself the pleasure of waiting on you, to see you and to learn how *our friends* are, and in what State the King Balls continue. They furnished me whilst at that place abundant matter for speculation, and were productive of incidents that cannot readily be forgotten—but enough till we meet; time presses; I am just on the wing as I never determined to write till the instant of departure, hoping and expecting your arrival would supersede the necessity. In the haste of scribbling this I fear you will not find it always intelligible.

Accept my assurances of respect and a cordial unfeigned attachment, H. BUTLER.

Governor EDWARDS,
at the U. S. Saline.

LETTER OF WILLIAM WALLACE.*

RUSSELLVILLE, 26th July, 1810.

DEAR SIR:—I received your letter notifying me of your power to grant us the lead mine we petitioned for on certain conditions, for which you have my most cordial thanks. We shall take the necessary steps to satisfy you of the existence of mineral on the land, and that we are connected with the first discoverer of the same if neces-

* This Mr. Wallace seems to have been a lawyer at Russellville, Kentucky, and he writes in reference to a lease of a lead mine. This lead mine was in what is now Hardin County, in this State. Although much work was expended in developing these mines, even up to so late a period as 1841 and 1842, there seems never to have been any very great yield of lead ore.

sary. I wish to inquire of you whether the decease of Judge Prince has not dissolved the company opposed to us in a part of our claim, and whether we could not be permitted to vary our location in some way if deemed more to our advantage to do so?

We wish to be informed whether your power extends to granting the lease with a right to renew, and whether any and what remuneration will be made us for improvements on the land at any time and when. I do not wish to draw from you any secret of the Government (if any she has), but it is desirable to have as favorable terms as we can get, and to be informed of them fully before we proceed to the expenditure of money on the place. If we should delay some months before we make our application we hope it will not prejudice our claim. The removal of the man who is best acquainted with the mineral into Louisiana (as we are informed) may possibly cause delay. My own engagements with the Courts will confine me till November, and unless my partners do it, no examination of the mineral can be made before. I am instructed to say that we are certainly connected with the first discoverer and that we can establish that fact with ease. I speak comparatively with the claim of Prince & Ficklin. Accept my sincere thanks for your friendly conduct towards me at all times, and believe me your unaltered friend; also the complements of Mrs. Wallace to yourself and Mrs. Edwards.

WM. WALLACE.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Kaskaskia.

LETTER OF ACTING-GOVERNOR FREDERICK BATES.*

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, ST. LOUIS, Aug. 2nd, 1810.

SIR:—I take the liberty to enclose to you a petition of Charles Reile and Baptiste and Francis Pequeur.

The application was improperly made to me, as the Kickapoos, by whom the property is alleged to have been stolen, reside within your government.

I avail myself of this occasion to say that the Illinois Indians make frequent visits to this place under the pretext of talk with the Public Agents, and not unfrequently commit some violence or other immediately before their departure. The appointment by yourself of an agent, resident in this neighborhood, would contribute very much to the suppression of these practices. Altho' the duty would be somewhat burthensome, I have no doubt that Mr. Peter Chouteau would, at your request, very cheerfully undertake it. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir,

Your obedt. servant,

FREDERICK BATES.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois.

* Frederick Bates was at this time the secretary and acting-governor of the Territory of Upper Louisiana. In 1824, he was elected governor of the State of Missouri, and died on the 4th of August, 1825, only having administered the government for one year. He was the compiler of the laws of the Territory of Louisiana, which was the first book ever printed in St. Louis.

LETTER OF LIEUT. PRICE.*

FORT MASSAC, Sept. 10th, 1810.

SIR:—I have the happiness to inform you that there was certainly not more than one Indian killed in a reencounter which I mentioned in a former letter to you.

This information I could have given you sometime since had I not proposed procuring some depositions from disinterested persons and forwarding them with this communication.

Those depositions I have not been able to procure owing to my confined situation. I fear there may be some misconduct in the soldiery by their concurrence in reporting to me falsely. I have the honor to be with the highest consideration, Yr. obt. servt., S. PRICE,

His Excel'cy NINIAN EDWARDS, Lt. Commanding.
Kaskaskia.

* Fort Massac, the point from which this letter was written, by Lieut. Price, then in command, was probably the earliest fort ever built by the French in that part of *Nouvelle France*, which embraced what is now Illinois. It was built in 1711. Fort Chartres was built in 1718, seven years afterward, and that was regarded at the time as the most formidable fortress on the American continent.

Fort Massac was situated on the Ohio River, about forty miles from its mouth. Persons who have traveled by steamboat on the Ohio River will recollect the beautiful site which was selected by the French military officers.

A fort was first erected at this point in 1711. It was captured by the Indians, and nearly all the French soldiers were massacred. It was subsequently rebuilt, and in memory of that disastrous event was named "Fort Massacre"; from that came the name of "Fort Massac", and from thence the name of Massac County, which was organized in 1843. It was a Jesuit missionary station and a trading-post as well. During the time of the old French War, about 1756, the post was enlarged and made quite a strong fortress. It was continued a military post by the United States for a considerable period for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants from the Indians. In 1794, Major Doyle was in command. In 1803, there was a military company stationed there, with a captain, first and second lieutenants, and seventy-four privates.—American State Papers.

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LETTER OF THOMAS T. CRITTENDEN.*

KASKASKIA, Saturday, 27th October, 1810.

SIR:—Permit me to return into the hands of your excellency those rights and powers, the exercise of which I derived from the commissions of Atto. General for the Territory, and of Aid-de-camp to your Excellency. I can not lay aside those badges of an esteem which I am so happy to claim and so solicitous always to retain, without returning to you my most sincere thanks for that share of confidence with which you have honored me. It will not be among my least incitements to exertion, that those exertions may continue to render me worthy of so valued a boon. With the highest respect, I am yours,

THO. T. CRITTENDEN.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS.

LETTER OF GOV. BENJAMIN HOWARD OF MISSOURI.†

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 15th, 1810.

SIR:—Since my arrival I have used every means in my power to ascertain the Indians who on the 20th of July last upon Salt river, in this Territory, murdered four white men, namely: Cornelius Groch, William T. Cole, Abraham Patton, and Sashell Brown, and have at length col-

* John J. Crittenden having resigned the office of attorney-general for the Territory of Illinois, as offered to him by Governor Edwards, the same position was then tendered to Thomas T. Crittenden. He held the position from April 7th, 1810, to October 27th, of the same year, when, as is shown by this letter, he tendered his resignation. He was the brother of John J. Crittenden, and the uncle of Thomas T. Crittenden, the present governor of Missouri.

† Benjamin Howard succeeded, in 1809, Meriweather Lewis as governor of

lected circumstantial proof sufficient to convince me that the party was composed of Pottawatomies, one of whom called Catfish, resides within the Territory of Illinois. Inasmuch as it is my duty as well as my inclination to spare no exertion to bring this offender to trial for the crime of murder with which I now charge him, and having no authority to arrest him out of this Territory, I am compelled to demand him of you as the Governor of the Territory within which he resides; with a view to aid you in your efforts to have him apprehended, I herewith enclose all the written evidence which I have received touching the charge against him. I am, sir, with the highest consideration, Your humble servt.,

BENJA. HOWARD.

His Exc'll'y NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois.

Gomo, a Chief of a band of Pottawatomies, in a council with me, at this place, said that two men of his nation, named *O-ki-che-ga-mis* and *Ne-skad-na-mis*, were of the party that murdered the four white men about the 20th July in the District of St. Charles. Those two Indians were attached to a band of the Pottawatomies who were under the influence of the Prophet, and reside on the Wabash. WM. CLARK,

St. Louis, 14th Nov'r., 1810. U. S. Agt. for I. Afs., L.

Upper Louisiana Territory. He had previously been twice elected to Congress from the State of Kentucky, and had also been the governor of Indiana Territory. He resigned as governor of Louisiana Territory a short time before the division of Upper Louisiana and the admission of Missouri as a territory. In 1813, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the United States army, and died at St. Louis, September 18, 1814.

CHAPTER IV.

Letter of Martin D. Hardin; a distinguished lawyer of Kentucky; father of Col. John J. Hardin of Illinois; description of Prairie du Chien as it appeared in 1811; an interesting old French-Canadian settlement; its large commerce at that time; early working of the Dubuque and Galena lead-mines; first discovery of lead-ore in the United States; letter of Samuel Whiteside, an early settler in Illinois Territory; the Whiteside Family; "Whiteside Station"; Whiteside County; General Samuel Whiteside; a man of great courage and energy; a Democrat in politics, and a "Hard-Shell" Baptist in religion; letter of Governor Howard; letter of William B. Whiteside; Goshen Settlement; letter of Joseph Charless; publisher of the first newspaper ever issued in Upper Louisiana Territory, the "Missouri Gazette", afterwards the "Missouri Republican"; proposes to print the laws of Illinois for 1812; letter of Thomas E. Craig; his expedition to Peoria; brings away many of the inhabitants as prisoners; Antoine LeClaire one of them; LeClaire becomes one of the founders of Davenport, Iowa; letter of Jonathan Taylor; a lessee of the United States Salines in 1810.

LETTER OF MARTIN D. HARDIN.*

FRANKFORT, Jan. 4th, 1811.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter by Mr. Crittenden, addressed

* Martin D. Hardin was a distinguished lawyer of Kentucky, a major of volunteers in the War of 1812, and secretary of the State of Kentucky, and for a short time, in 1816 and 1817, a United States senator from Kentucky. He was the father of Hon. John J. Hardin of this State, who was a member of Congress from 1843 to 1845. He commanded a regiment of Illinois volunteers in the Mexican war, and was killed in the battle of Buena Vista while gallantly leading his men in the final charge, February 27th, 1847.

to Mr. P. Dudley and myself, was rec'd about a week since. Mr. Dudley was not in this country. I immediately went and saw Mr. Richardson. I could do nothing with him as to compromise, that is, in writing. He said he would not sue for a while, but would not give any writing. I then, according to directions, made the demand on the 28th ult., sued him on the 29th, had the writ served on the 31st. On that evening Richardson tendered bonds and demanded a deed. I could not make any. He then proposed paying up for two hundred acres, and waiting eight months for a title for that two hundred acres—the other 100 acres, (*i. e.*), that claimed by Ratliff, he to hold the money free from interest until a title was made. I could not give a direct answer to this offer, but said I would write to you as to it. I have not had time to do more in this business yet.

Your friend, &c.,

M. D. HARDING.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois.

DESCRIPTION OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, AS IT APPEARED IN 1811.*

Prairie des Chiens is on the left bank of the Mississippi, Illinois Territory, about six miles above the mouth of the

* This letter, written to the secretary of war—Hon. William Eustis—in 1811, by N. Boilvin, a well-known Indian agent at this time at Prairie du Chien, was found among the papers of Governor Edwards. It is published as containing a description of that old French settlement at that early period. The statement in the letter of the number of Indians visiting Prairie du Chien annually must excite surprise, and it is evident that there was quite a large commerce there at that time. I was not aware before reading this letter that

Ouisconsing, and 700 miles, by estimation, above St. Louis; the distance is probably over-rated as a well-manned boat is able to ascend from the latter to the former place in twenty days, but it generally takes double the time for a loaded boat to perform the same route. The plat of ground on which the village stands may be said to be an island of about three miles long and a mile broad, but in the season of low water the back channel is dry except where it forms a small pond or lake, which may be easily drained. In fine, the back channel is nothing more than a small creek or bayou.

Prairie des Chiens is an old Indian town which was sold by the Indians to the Canadian traders about thirty years ago, where they have ever since rendezvoused, and dispersed therein merchandise in various directions. The Indians also sold them at the same time a tract of land measuring six leagues up and down the river, and six leagues back of it. The village contains between thirty and forty houses, and on the tract just mentioned about thirty-two families, so that the whole settlement contains about 100 families. The men are generally French Cana-

the Indians at that early period were so extensively engaged in mining for lead ore and in manufacturing lead.

The point at which they carried on their operations being described as sixty miles below Prairie du Chien, must have been at the lead-mines of Julien Dubuque, where the City of Dubuque now stands. They might possibly have worked also on the east side of the Mississippi River, in what was afterward known as the Galena lead-mines. The earliest discovery of lead-mines in this country was made in this region. On an old French map, published in Paris in 1703, lead-mines (mines de plomb) are put down on both sides of the Missis-ippi River at this point. On the east side of the river the designation on the map is put down as being on the "Riviére de Parisien", afterward known as Fever River.

dians, who have mostly married Indian wives; perhaps not more than twelve white females are to be found in the settlement.

These people attend to the cultivation of their lands, which are extremely fertile. They raise considerable quantities of surplus produce, particularly wheat and corn. They annually dispose of about eighty thousand weight of flour to the traders and Indians, besides great quantities of meal, and the quantity of surplus produce would be greatly increased if a suitable demand existed for it. All kinds of vegetables flourish in great perfection, and such is the beauty of the climate that the country begins to attract the attention of settlers. Different fruit trees have lately been planted and promise to grow well.

Prairie des Chiens is surrounded by numerous Indian tribes, who wholly depend on it for their supplies. It is annually visited by at least six thousand Indians, and hitherto they have resorted to the Canadian traders for goods, because our own apprehended much danger in attempting to carry on a trade with them, particularly as the Canadians generally prevail on the Indians either to plunder them or to drive them away. Only one trader of our town returned into that quarter during the last year.

Great danger, both to individuals and to the Government, is to be apprehended from the Canadian traders; they endeavor to incite the Indians against us; partly to monopolize their trade and partly to secure friendship in case a war should break out between us and England. They are constantly making large presents to the Indians, which the latter consider as a sign of approaching war, and under

this impression frequently apply to me for advice on the subject. Hitherto I have been able to keep them friendly.

The United States have it in their power by the adoption of one simple measure to turn the current of Indian trade on the Upper Mississippi, and to put an end to the subsisting intercourse between the Canadian traders and the Indians. *Prairie des Chiens* from its central position is well calculated for a garrison and factory. It affords health, plenty of fine timber and good water. But as the Indians are numerous a garrison at that place will require at least two companies of men. The Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas can be as well supplied at the latter place as at the former, particularly as they have mostly abandoned the chase, except to furnish themselves with meat, and turned their attention to the manufacture of lead, which they procure from a mine about sixty miles below *Prairie des Chiens*. During the last season they manufactured four hundred thousand pounds of that article, which they exchanged for goods. The Sioux and other Indians in that quarter have excellent mines, and might be easily prevailed on to open them, especially as the profits of this manufacture is much greater and less precarious than the laborious pursuit of peltries. A few tools will be necessary for them, and perhaps a blacksmith to repair them would be of great use.

As soon as the Indians in general turn their attention to lead, the Canadian traders will wholly abandon the country, as they have no use for that article, at least in the way of commerce. To introduce the manufacture of lead, requires only the adoption of the measures I have

mentioned. The factory at *Prairie des Chiens* ought to be well supplied with goods, and lead ought to be received in exchange for the merchandise. This trade would be the more valuable to the United States, as lead is not a perishable article, and is easily transported; whereas peltries are bulky, and large quantities are annually spoiled before they reach the market; under such a system, the Canadian trade would be extinguished.

William Morris, Esqr., of Kaskaskia, I have no doubt, would supply the troops at *Prairie des Chiens* cheaper than anybody else, perhaps at 35, perhaps at 30, per ration, which is the same price as is allowed for the ration at Fort Madison. This gentleman is as able to furnish as any man in the country, as he is a merchant of extensive business, and has most of the people in his debt. At any rate I am convinced that I can procure the rations to be furnished at *Prairie des Chiens* as cheap as it is now furnished at Fort Madison. I have the honor to be, sir, with esteem,

Your obt. servt., N. BOILVIN.

Washington City, Feby. 2d, 1811.

Honb. WILL'M EUSTIS,

Secty. of War.

LETTER OF SAMUEL WHITESIDE.*

ILLINOIS RIVER, BLOCK HOUSE, July the 24th, 1811.

Capt. WILLIAM B. WHITESIDE:

Sir:—I conceive it my duty to give you a statement of

* The family of Whiteside was a very large one, and much distinguished in the early settlement of Illinois. Numerous members of the family emigrated

an affair that took place here since you left the Block House. All passengers, either ascending or decending the Mississippi, both Indians and whites, came too at our Block House and have been treated with civility until the 23d instant. In the afternoon we discovered two canoes on the river near the Louisiana shore; agreeable to your orders, I hailed them in order to bring them too, but they did not come, and slipt along side of the Island. I took two men with me and went across to the Island, one of them was a Frenchman who speaks the Indian language very well; I hailed them again, as the distance was not so great and could hear them speak distinctly, and told them it was my orders to know what Indians passed. There was a Frenchman who spoke from the canoes and gave me very insulting and abusive language, and continued going up the river. I then told them if they did not stop and come too I would certainly fire on them, and was answered by the Frenchman, "Fire and be damned!" then I fired off my gun for to strike about twenty or thirty feet ahead of the canoe, which I seen the bullet strike and skip along the

from Kentucky in 1793, and settled about New Design, in St. Clair Co. They were very brave men and great Indian fighters. The writer of this letter, Samuel Whiteside, afterward became a general, and was one of the commissioners who selected Vandalia for the seat of government of Illinois. He was a man of great courage and energy, and of incorruptible integrity. Judge Joseph Gillespie says that the only thing on earth that he was afraid of was being in debt. He died in Christian County, Illinois, as late as the 3d of January, 1866.

One of the family, William Whiteside, erected a fort on the road from Cahokia to Kaskaskia, which became celebrated as "Whiteside Station". Whiteside County was named in honor of the family, though it is sometimes claimed that it was named for General Samuel Whiteside, who was the most prominent member of the family at the time when the county was organized. He was a democrat in politics, and a "hard-shell" Baptist in religion.

water above the canoe. Immediately after I seen a stout looking man, that we took to be the Frenchman, jump out of the foremost canoe onto the sand-bar and fired at me, and was very near hitting me. I then was irritated, knowing they must have seen I did not aim at them. I then loaded my rifle and done my best at the Frenchman who shot at me, but done him no damage that I know of, as the distance was two or three hundred yards. There was two more guns fired at us from the canoes, but done us no damage and went on. The day before the affair took place a Sac Chief called on me and told me he had some Indians behind that would be along in the evening and would stop. It appears to me that it was the Frenchman's fault, as we told the Indians very civilly, in their own language, what we wanted with them and that we would not detain them. I shall be extremely sorry to have done anything that may have the least appearance of an unfriendly disposition towards Indians that is in friendship with the United States. A man that called his name Blondo came down the river and had met several canoes of the Sac Indians this morning, not far above this place, who told him they had been fired on the evening before by the people of this Block House, and that they were very angry in consequence of it. I, not being acquainted with the nature of Indians, may have done wrong; but I have this consolation, if I have, it was with an intention of doing right. Myself and the men are all in good health. We have no provisions come on yet. I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL WHITESIDE.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR HOWARD.

ST. LOUIS, July 29th, 1811.

SIR:—I have just been informed that some of the militia of Illinois, stationed on or near the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Illinois, a few days ago fired on a party of Sac Indians ascending the river from this place to Fort Madison with their women and children. I cannot believe that this act can be justified by any instructions from you. The white man who was with the chief, and ahead of the party, when this affair took place, says that when they came up they appeared much irritated. I expect every day some chiefs from the Sacs here, and I think it important that the transaction should be satisfactorily explained to them. These people are powerful and now very friendly towards us, and 'tis possible that this affair may have a tendency to change their disposition in regard to the Americans. When those chiefs arrive it will afford me pleasure to be furnished by you with the means of removing any unfavorable impression which this affair may have made. I enclose you an extract from a letter of Capt. Levering on the subject. I am, sir,

Your humble serv't.,

BENJA. HOWARD.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS.

LETTER OF WILLIAM B. WHITESIDE.*

GOSHEN, the 4th of August, 1811.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS:

Sir:—I had the honour of receiving yours of the 2nd

* Goshen, the place from which this letter was written, by Major William

instant in which I am informed that Governor Howard has made a communication to your Excellency expressing a dissatisfaction with respect to an affair that took place at the Block House, on the Mississippi river, between our men and some of the Sac Indians on the 23d of last month, and wished an explanation of the same. I have written to Governor Howard and given him all the information in my power and that will be satisfactory to him, I hope. I do inclose to your Excellency a copy of a communication made by the officer to me, giving the whole narrative of the transaction that took place with respect to firing on the Sac Indians. I can only observe that I think the boys was rather too forward, but I believe it was done by the officer without considering what the consequences that might result from it would be. Altho' I know him to be a deliberate man and one as zealous for the safety of his country as perhaps any one in it. I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WM. B. WHITESIDE.

LETTER OF JOSEPH CHARLESS.*

GOV. EDWARDS:

Sir:—A young man, a printer from Penn., is in town

B. Whiteside to Governor Edwards, was a settlement, made as early as 1807, in what is now Madison County, and four miles southwest of the present town of Edwardsville. The father of Governor John Reynolds was one of the earliest settlers, and here also lived William B. Whiteside and other members of the Whiteside family.

* Joseph Charless, the writer of this letter, published the first newspaper ever issued in Upper Louisiana Territory. It was established in 1808, and called the *Missouri Gazette*. In 1822, the name of the paper was changed to that of the *Missouri Republican*—today one of the leading journals in the State of Missouri. The letter is interesting as showing the estimated cost of printing the laws of the Territory of Illinois in 1812.

and applies for employment. I lose no time in offering proposals for printing the laws of Illinois, as follows:

Suppose the book would form 100 pages octavo, with marginal notes, it would amount to:

Printing 200 copies	$100 00
Four reams paper @ $5	20 00
Folding and stitching in paper covers at 8 cents per copy	16 00
	$136 00

Or in proportion, should the contemplated work exceed 100 pages.

I would be happy to hear from you on this subject, or should you remain in town beyond to-day, I will have an opportunity of waiting on you; the publication of the *Gazette* deprives me of that pleasure at this time.

I am, sir, respectfully,

JOSEPH CHARLESS.

St. Louis, April 18th, 1812.

LETTER OF THOMAS E. CRAIG.*

SHAWNEETOWN, Illinois Territory, 28th Apl., 1812.

DEAR SIR:—I received your orders of the 12th inst.

* In the fall of this year (1812), Captain Thomas E. Craig was ordered by Governor Edwards to go to Peoria, and arrest certain persons who were there for the purpose of assisting the savages in murdering the frontier settlers. Captain Craig was successful in his expedition, and brought away a number of the inhabitants of Peoria as prisoners. Among their number, as given by Edward Coles (afterward governor of the State), in a report he made as a register of the Land Office at Edwardsville to the Secretary of the Treasury, is that of Antoine LeClaire, a Canadian half-breed, who was the first settler at the point where Davenport, Iowa, now stands, and of which town he was one of the original proprietors. The town of LeClaire, Iowa, is named for him. Whatever he might have been in 1812, during his long residence in Davenport he was ever regarded as a most excellent, honorable, and liberal man.

directing me to come on immediately to Kaskaskia, and at the same time received your note countermanding them orders. I have made use of every exertion in my power to have my company ready by the time the next express arrives to march. Governor, I want you to state, if you see proper, in the next express in what way we must come, the payments per day, &c. I am much in hopes you will receive us as mounted riflemen. I shall certainly have my company as large and as well equiped as possible. I am bound to attend your call if I have only five men, but I have no doubt but I shall have near the quantity. I have not sent the swords you sent for, for want of an opportunity. We have rec'd accounts at this place of the Indians doing considerable damage on the Wabash. Report says from several boats that passed three days since that the Indians have killed three, and some say more men, just below the mouth of Greeen River—all since the battle on Wabash. The correctness of those reports are yet uncertain with me. I have the honor to be, sir,

Your mo. obt. servt.,

THOMAS E. CRAIG.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS.

LETTER OF JONATHAN TAYLOR.*

SHAWNEETOWN, 4 June, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—I wrote you yesterday by an express sent

* Jonathan Taylor was a man of some prominence in his time, and a resident of Kaskaskia in 1810, and was one of the lessees of the United States Salines in that year. It appears by the Randolph County records that he was licensed as a tavern-keeper at the United States Salines in 1809. These salt springs were near the mouth of the Wabash River, and were then within the limits of Randolph County.

by Maj. Hargrave. Col. Grant tells me he starts for your place in the morning. I avail myself by him to drop you a line. We are anxious to know when a division will take place of the counties. Mr. Street has his house logs ready to build, and will immediately remove to this place. I have come to the same determination, and you may consider me a citizen of your Territory.

Great head will be made against me as Register of the Land Office, east of Kaskaskia. I am under obligations to you for your exertions; I have no doubt it is in your power to procure it for me; believing it still not filled I will suggest that it will give great weight if you will by next mail write to Judge Thurston, the Hon. John Pope, and others of your acquaintances.

I have spent all the prime of my life in public service, and have a large family to support with funds barely equal to the task.

Inclosed you have a recommendation in favor of Mr. Patterson as Sheriff for one of the new counties. The respectability of the signers is equal to any that can be procured in this country. I hope if he is appointed it will be for the upper county.

I have a nephew who will be proposed to you as Prosecuting Attorney for the contemplated counties. He has studied with Judge Clark of Kentucky, and will bring on letters to you from him and others of your acquaintance in the upper country.

Sincerely anxious to promote your happiness I am your Excellency's obedient servant,

JONA. TAYLOR.

His Excellency Governor EDWARDS.

CHAPTER V.

Letter of George Robinson; question of dividing Randolph County agitated; petition for division; Northwestern Territory; County of Illinois, Virginia; first counties established in Northwestern Territory; Washington first, Hamilton second, St. Clair third, Knox fourth, Randolph fifth; controversy about the county-seat of Randolph County; William St. Clair; other counties established in Illinois Territory; letter of Robert Brent, paymaster of United States Army; letter of Martin D. Hardin; letter of Captain William Clark; a distinguished explorer and governor of Missouri Territory; a brother of George Rogers Clark; letter of John Hays, an early settler at Cahokia; much of his life passed in the fur-trade; postmaster of Cahokia, and sheriff of St. Clair County; other letters of Robert Brent; letter of Thomas E. Craig; Craig's report to Governor Edwards of his expedition to Peoria; speaks of certain parties at Peoria as "Dam'd Rascals".

LETTER OF GEORGE ROBINSON.*

SHAWNEETOWN, June 14th, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—At the request of a number of the citizens of this place, I send you the enclosed petition, the contents of which you will see, and of the propriety or impropriety

* It was in the first part of the year 1812, that the question of dividing Randolph County became agitated. The county then embraced all the lower part of the State. This letter of Mr. Robinson's, who was then the postmaster at Shawneetown, encloses the following petition, which is signed by about one hundred persons. Of all the names signed to it, there are but few recalled: G. Lamb, who is believed to have been of the firm of Mather Lamb & Co. of Kaskaskia, Thomas E. Craig, whose letter is found in the preceding pages, Col. Thos. Cox, Hon. Michael Jones, and Thos. M. Dorris.

be able to judge. No doubt you wish to gratify the people as far as is right or consistent with your duty. There is several to the same amount in circulation, that you will shortly get. I see in the papers that the right of suffrage is extended to this Territory. I suppose you will shortly divide the counties. It is the ardent wish of the people, as far as I have had an opportunity to know, that you should erect two counties on the Ohio, and I think it will be right if there is but one. It will not remedy the difficulty complained of, that of the great distance from the seat of justice, and of course another division must shortly take place, and then the place where the seat of justice had been fixed will not be likely to suit the other county. Before I conclude, I will say a word or two on the petition above mentioned; if you should think a parte proper and a parte improper of the request in it made, as far as appears proper, I would advise you to grant, in order to soothe the people; although it may be improper in me to give advice to you, but you will consider it is from a friend—one who wishes your welfare and prosperity. I therefore hope you will pardon the liberty I have taken.

I am, sir, yours with esteem,

GEO. ROBINSON.

NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, NINIAN EDWARDS, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF THE ILLINOIS TERRITORY:

*The petition of the free male inhabitants of that part of the County of Randolph which lies east of Big Muddy:**

* Before the cession of the Northwestern Territory by Virginia to the

Humbly sheweth that your petitioners have with pleas-

United States, in 1784, the Virginia Assembly, in 1778, created the country which had been conquered by George Rogers Clark into the County of Illinois, the mother of all the counties in the five States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

After the passage of the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, providing for the government of the Northwestern Territory, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, of Revolutionary fame, was made governor thereof. On the 15th day of July, 1788, Gen. St. Clair established himself as governor of the Northwestern Territory at Marietta, the seat of the Massachusetts Land Company. There had as yet been no county established in the territory, and by an "order", passed July 27, 1788, "By His Excellency Arthur St. Clair, Esquire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River," constituted the County of Washington (named after Gen. Washington) and fixing its boundaries. This was the *first* county made out of the mother-County of Illinois.

Having established the Territorial Government at Marietta, Gov. St. Clair set out for Kaskaskia, in the "Illinois Country", on the 20th day of December, 1789, and on January 2, 1790, reached Fort Washington, on the "Symmes Purchase". This was near where Cincinnati now stands, and there was a town having the foolish and absurd name of "Losantiville". On the 4th day of January, 1790, Gov. St. Clair issued another "order", creating the County of Hamilton (named after Alexander Hamilton), and fixing the county-seat, which he named Cincinnati, in lieu of "Losantiville". This was the *second* county established in the Northwestern Territory. The journey from Marietta was a long and tedious one, and attended by great delays; for the governor did not arrive at Kaskaskia till March 5, 1790. On the 27th of the following month (April), an "order" was issued, setting off the County of St. Clair (named after Gov. St. Clair), and fixing its boundaries. The county was divided into three judicial districts, equivalent to three different county-seats, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia. This was the *third* county established in the Northwestern Territory.

The *fourth* county established in the Northwestern Territory, June 20th, 1790, was Knox County (named after Gen. Henry Knox, the secretary-of-war under Gen. Washington), and the county-seat was fixed at "Post Saint Vincennes".

The *fifth* county established in the Territory was Randolph, named for Edward Randolph, the attorney-general in the Cabinet of Washington. This county was created by Gov. St. Clair, by a proclamation issued at Cahokia, Oct. 5, 1795, which recites that "the division of the County of St. Clair into districts has not been found to give that ease and facility to the administration of justice which was expected, and the great extent of the county would ren-

ure learned that your Excellency has it in contemplation

der it almost impracticable were the courts to be held at one place only, it has, therefore, become necessary that it should be divided, and a new county erected." The boundaries are then set out for a county, to be named and "hereafter to be known and called by the name of Randolph." Nothing is said in the proclamation as to the county-seat of the new county. Up to a short time before the division of the County of St. Clair, the records seem to have been kept at Cahokia, but in November, 1794, Judge Turner, one of the United States Territorial judges, gave a peremptory order that they should be deposited at Kaskaskia, "as being the acknowledged county-town." This order seems to have given offence to Gov. St. Clair, who ordered them to be returned to "William St. Clair, Esq., prothonotary and register of the County of St. Clair."* I am not at the moment able to trace the result of this controversy, but the records undoubtedly remained at Kaskaskia, as the county-seat of Randolph; while Cahokia became for many years the county-seat of St. Clair.

When Gov. Edwards entered in the discharge of his duties as governor of Illinois Territory, in 1809, there were but the two counties of St. Clair and Randolph, and no more were established until Sept. 14, 1812, when he created by proclamation the Counties of Madison (named for James Madison, so soon to be president), Gallatin (named for Albert Gallatin, the secretary of the treasury under both Jefferson and Madison, the cotemporary friend and correspondent of Gov. Edwards). His youngest son (now living), Gen. Albert Ga latin Edwards, the present sub-treasurer at St. Louis and the last appointment of a public officer ever made by President Lincoln, was named for Albert Gallatin. Johnson County was named for Richard M. Johnson, an old Kentucky friend of Gov. Edwards, and afterward vice-president. The ninth county organized was Edwards (named for Gov. Edwards), organized November 28, 1814.

The tenth county organized in the Territory of Illinois was White, December 9, 1815. Then came Crawford (named for Wm. H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury under President Monroe), Jackson (named for Gen. Jackson), Monroe (named for President Monroe), Pope (named for Nathaniel Pope, the del gate in Congress who secured the admission of the territory as a state), all organized in 1816. Bond County (named for Gov. Bond) was organized in 1817. Franklin, Union, and Washington Counties were organized in 1818, and before the Territory was admitted into the Union as a state, in the latter part of that year. These nineteen counties were all that existed during the territorial existence of Illinois.

* This William St Clair was a distant relative of Gov St. Clair. When Randolph County was organized, Gov. St. Clair appointed him clerk of the courts of St. Clair County. He located at Cahokia, and lived and died in that old French village.

to erect a new county or counties within the aforesaid boundaries. And beg leave to state that they have good grounds to believe that the right of suffrage will, by an act of Congress, be extended to all the free male inhabitants of this Territory, under certain restrictions, to elect a delegate to Congress and also representatives to the Territorial Legislature, so soon as your Excellency shall deem it expedient to order the second or representative grade of territorial government. This being a rapid stride toward a free government, we can have no doubt of it meeting your entire approbation. And believing as we do that your determination is to administer the government of the Territory with equal justice to all, and so far as is consistent with your official duties in such way as may best please the people. And also believing that the recommendation of a respectable portion of the citizens of the Territory would have weight with you in making appointments (which is the case in all governments), and that the mode of recommending to office might be reduced to a system.

To show the propriety of such a measure in a country like this, we ask your Excellency's permission to represent; that owing to the dispersed situation of the population of the Territory, and especially in that part in which your petitioners reside, that it is almost impossible for any one man, residing at so remote a distance as your excellency does from your petitioners, to form such an acquaintance with the citizens at large as to enable him to select the persons best qualified and most proper to fill the several offices necessary for the county or counties.

Your petitioners therefore pray that your Excellency

will, so soon as a new county or counties may be established in the aforesaid limits, direct that election shall be held in the several townships at such times and places as you may appoint, for the purpose of selecting, by the votes of the several persons entitled to vote, for representatives (should the right of suffrage be extended, as we confidently hope it may) if not by the free male inhabitants who may reside therein and shall have paid a county tax, a sheriff or sheriffs, a clerk or clerks to the Court of Common Pleas, and judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

Your petitioners are prompted to make this request, first, from the confidence they have in your disposition to administer the government, so far as you have it in your power, according to republican principles. Second, because the militia-men of the Territory have been authorized by your Excellency, under certain restrictions, to select by vote their officers. And thirdly, because a like indulgence has been extended to the people of a neighboring territory by the Executive thereof, we hope your Excellency will take our petition under consideration, and as in duty bound, &c.

William Akers,	Page Leep,
W. Hamilton,	Thomas Jones,
John Murphy,	Thomas Cox.
David Gueard,	Charles Drewyer,
John Carter,	William Cook,
Michael Jones,	Bailey Gard,
Wm. Cheek,	G. Lamb,
Thomas Akers,	Michael Sprenkle,
Henry A. Carter,	Benj. R. Smith,

James Wright,
John Gilbert, Sen.,
Isaac Albin,
John Leak,
Allen Dunbar,
Wm. Reed,
Lewess Visinoe,
John Edwards,
Abe Wilson,
John Crane,
Adrian Davenport,
John Tear,
Thos. M. Dorris,
Nathl. S. Anderson,
James Albin,
Robert Cox,
H. O. W. Lane,
Isaac McIsaac,
Sm'l L. White,
Wesley G. Martin,
James Frazean,
Thos. Stephens,
Thos. Johnston,
Isaac Dorris,
James D. Kelley,
E. Brown,
John Ormsby,
Frederick Buck,
Warren Buck,
L. May,
Harrison Wilson,
Joseph Reid,
William Reid,
Joseph Thorne,
Robt. Scanland,
Walker Scanland,
Israel Hale,
John M. Mullen,
William Sutton,
Parker Williams,
Jsam. Rogers,
Wm. Ransom,
Edm. Stokes,
Nimrod Taylor,
Edward Farly,
James Hale,
John Wood,
John Hasaltine,
Thos. E. Craig,
William Merrell,
Thos. Hadden,
Jonathan Nicholson,
John Goodwyn,
Joseph Pumroy,
Ewd. Earminger,
John Kizer,
William Ellis,
William Ellis, Jr.,
John Reid,
Zachariah Woods,
Robert Harris,
Joseph Kenion,
Timothy Guard,
Joseph Carey,

Phil. C. Buckner,	Wm. McShaen,
Samuel Kimberly,	Thomas Deckeson,
Lars Barker,	Merril Willis,
Ebs. Chaffery,	Thomas Rasson,
Reuben Bellah,	Willis Whiever,
James Smith,	E. Wilcox,
James Davis,	Thomas Robinson,
Thorten Tallon,	Benjamin Keykendall,
Balaam May,	Wm. Kinchelas,

Macker Cheek.

LETTER OF ROBERT BRENT, PAYMASTER OF UNITED STATES ARMY.*

City of Washington, July 20, 1812.

Sir:—The Secretary of War has referred to me your letter to him of the 30th ulto. which inclosed muster rolls of certain Militia of the Illinois Territory called into the actual service of the United States.

Lieut. Whitlock having long acted as District Paymaster of the U. S. in the country which embraces the Illinois Territory, will be furnished with funds and instructions to make payment to this Militia. When these instructions are given him I will take care to call his particular attention to the circumstances of advances which may have been made by the officers to their men and require him to consult with yourself as well as those officers when he is about to make payment, and to do in this case what is just and equitable.

* This letter of Col. Brent, of the United States Army, is directed as follows: "His Excellency, Governor Edwards, Elvirade, *via* Sidney Grove, Randolph Co., Ills. Terry."

The money would have been advanced as you desired to the captains to make payments to the men in the first instance, but as the United States have a paymaster there, who from long habit is acquainted with all the details of that duty, it appears most proper to the Secretary of War, as I persuade myself it will to you, that he should be charged with that duty.

So soon as the statement is made from the papers you have transmitted at this office, the remittance will be made, and you will be duly advised thereof. I have the honor to be respectfully, sir,

Your obt. servt.,

ROBERT BRENT, P. M. U. S. Army.

LETTER OF M. D. HARDIN.*

FRANKFORT, Aug. 7th, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—I march with Col. Allen's regiment, as major, to Canada. We rendezvous at Georgetown on the 15th inst. Col. Jno. M. Scott's regiment and Col. Wm. Lewis' of Jessamine, also march, in all, say 1800; we are to be joined by the new recruits under Wells, about 400.

I obtained a judgment against Richardson at the last court. He obtained an injunction. I had not filed a bill for the title, for I could not ascertain the names of Strode's heirs.

I have put all the papers into the hands of Mr. Isham Talbot, and requested him to bring the suit. Peter Dudley

* Isham Talbot, who is spoken of in this letter, was at the time it was written a member of the State Senate of Kentucky, and afterward was twice elected United States Senator from that State.

goes. You must constitute another attorney in fact if one is necessary. In haste.

Your most obt.,

M. D. HARDIN.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS.

Gov. Harrison has requested a reinforcement. A regiment of between 500 and 600 is ordered to Vincennes from this State.

Shelby is elected by a large majority.

LETTER OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK.*

WASHINGTON CITY, August 16th, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—I had the pleasure of receiving your letters of the 2nd and 17th of June since my arrival at this place. In the first you mention that the Indians were assembling in force on the Illinois river, &c. I have been for several days conversing with the Secretary on the subject of a force in your Territory. He is of my opinion that force ought to be in that quarter, but he has not regular force. I have urged militia and an establishment above Peoria, and hope he may come into the measure. He tells me you are authorized to call for militia if necessary. You have no doubt heard that Mackinac has fallen into the hands of our enemy, and that Chicago is abandoned. I

* This letter is from Capt. William Clark, who was at the time connected with the Indian affairs, and whose residence was at St. Louis. He was a distinguished explorer, and the associate of Lewis in the famous "Lewis and Clark Expedition." He was appointed governor of Missouri Territory in 1813, and continued until the admission of the Territory as a State. It is a fact not generally known that Capt. William Clark was a younger brother of Gen. George Rogers Clark.

fear the effects which this may produce on the Indians, who may be prepared for action.

Mr. Forsythe's pay is augmented to $600 and three rations, as he wished. You say in your last letter that the Indians refuse to surrender their murderers; this is an additional suspicion of their views and intentions. I hope that hostilities may not be commenced until an army gets among them from Kentucky, joined with the Territory militia. I am making every exertion in my power to have force sent to your quarter, both regulars and militia; can't say how I shall succeed, but suspect that the power given the governors will be relied on. As to news we have a great deal, but so uncertain that I will not undertake to relate any. A messenger just now arrived from Halifax. The Adjutant-General of Canada visited Gen. Dearborn at Albany, and report says a cessation of hostilities is to take place for thirty days. Accept the assurance of my highest respect and esteem.

Your obt. servt.,

WM. CLARK.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

LETTER OF JOHN HAYS.*

Gov. EDWARDS:

Sir:—I had the honor of just receiving your letter of

* John Hays was born in New York, and immigrated to Cahokia in 1793, where he lived and died. His early life was passed in the fur-trade at Mackinac, the Lake of the Woods, and the sources of the Mississippi. Written during the war, in reply to Governor Edwards seeking certain information,

19th inst. by mail, and agreeable to your request I answer your queries:

The route from Montreal to Michilimakanac by the Grand river is called nine hundred miles, the most difficult route, perhaps, in the world. There are thirty-six carrying places where all the goods are carried on men's backs over those portages, and in most of those places the bark canoes are likewise carried on men's shoulders. There are likewise thirty-six places where half-canoe loads are carried owing to the great rapids. What is meant by half-loads, the canoe starts half-loaded and deposits the half-load at a certain place, and then returns for the other half-load. No boats of any kind can ascend this river, only bark canoes, which carry about seven thousand weight, or seventy pieces weighing one hundred pounds each; every man carries two of those pieces over each carrying place. Those canoes are navigated by ten, sometimes eleven men, with paddles. By this route all the merchandize from Montreal is carried to the Grand portage, Nippegand, Arthabaska, and all the other wintering places in Lake Superior, and the peltries return by same route; but a few years past all the merchandize from Montreal to Mackanac was taken there by the same route. I have come myself from Montreal to Mackanac by this river. The Fort St. Josephs is about seventeen leagues from Mackanac; it is an island about three leagues in length, pretty high land, about two leagues from mainland.

his letter, as written, shows him to have been a well-educated and intelligent man. He was, for a very long number of years, postmaster at Cahokia, and the sheriff of St. Clair County from 1798 to 1818.

and twelve leagues from Sou St. Mary's, and about six hundred miles from Grand portage. There is generally about sixty or seventy men at St. Josephs; a captain commands these. Sometimes assembles at the Grand portage, about fifteen or sixteen hundred men, generally in the spring, the latter end of May or in June; in the fall they are mostly all gone to their wintering grounds. I have never known more than a full company to be stationed at Mackanac. Goods may be brought from St. Josephs along the mainland and by the Island of Mackanac within six miles. Those brought the last fall into the Mississippi by Mr. Dickson and others were brought that route. Mr. Chenier nor no other person has yet arrived from Mackanac. Knowing the difficulty for troops reaching that country by any other route than by Detroit, I can not help but concur with your opinion that Mackanac is not taken.

I have not given your excellency, at this time, as ample a description of the country as I could wish, thinking you would wish to have it immediately, but as it is, your excellency may rely on its correctness, as I have myself been over the route. I am, very respectfully,

Your excellency's ob't. serv't.,

JOHN HAYS.

20th Aug., 1812.

You will be pleased to excuse haste and my scrawl.

LETTERS OF ROBERT BRENT.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Nov. 7th, 1812.

SIR:—I have received your letter of 4th ulto. relative to the pay of Captain Whiteside's company of rangers, and

those companies which you have had in service since last spring of the militia.

Lieut. Ambrose Whitlock having been long since authorized and instructed to pay all descriptions of troops within his district, of which Indiana forms a part, and especially instructed as to Capt. Whiteside's company of rangers. It might rather retard than forward their payment were I now to countermand the order to him and direct them to be paid by Mr. Pope, into whose hands I should not be authorized to place or direct funds to be placed until he has given bond and received the necessary instructions, which would consume much time in a correspondence with this place.

I have called Lieut. Whitlock's attention to this subject again. I flatter myself however before this reaches your hands he will have made the payment to Capt. Whiteside's company as well as to the other troops and militia in the Illinois Territory.

We shall in a few days complete a statement of the moneys due to the militia of Illinois Territory in the years 1811 and 1812 from the rolls rendered to this office, and the money will be forwarded in a few days. I have the honor to be, sir, Your mo. obt. servt.

ROBERT BRENT, P. M., U. S. Army.

The Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois Territory, Kaskaskia.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, November 19, 1812.

SIR:—I have this day instructed Lieut. Ambrose Whitlock, District Paymaster, at Vincennes, Indiana Territory,

to pay certain militia of your Territory which were called into service in the year 1811, as also certain other militia of your Territory for services rendered in the year 1812, previous to the 5th of July.

The amount ($7,409 94) has been ascertained in my office from the muster rolls received by me, and Lieut. Whitlock is authorized to draw on me for the same.

I have transmitted to Lieut. Whitlock a duplicate set of the pay-rolls and abstracts duly certified by me, setting forth the precise sum due each man. I am very respectfully, sir, Your mo. obt.,

ROBERT BRENT, P. M., U. S. Army.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Governor of the Territory of Illinois, Kaskaskia.

LETTER OF THOMAS E. CRAIG.*

CAMP RUSSELL, Nov. 16th, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—This comes to inform you that I have arrived last evening from Peoria, and am at a loss to know what to do, as I have a number of the inhabitants of that place as prisoners with me, and a considerable quantity of property of different Sioux chiefs. I wish very much to see you or hear from you as soon as possible. I am, dear sir,

Your most obdt.

THOS. E. CRAIG.

Governor EDWARDS.

* This letter from Capt. Thomas E. Craig to Governor Edwards was written after his return from the Peoria expedition, which has been heretofore alluded to.

LETTER OF THOMAS E. CRAIG.*

SHAWNEETOWN, ILL. TERRITORY,
10th Dec., 1812.

Governor EDWARDS:

Sir:—No chance sooner has offered for the conveyance of a letter to you. Since my return home, I felt anxious to communicate the charges I have against Thomas Forsythe & Company or the citizens of Peoria. Forsythe, from every appearance, was chief commander. Sir, agreeable to your orders I went to Peoria with my company on board the boats placed under my command. I landed at Peoria on the 5th day November, and left that place on the 9th. On my way, not far below Peoria, I met two canoes loaded mostly with squaws and children, accompanied by five men. They were brought to the boats. They said they were running from the Indians on their way to Partushdism. I kept one of the men on board my boat the balance past. This was a Frenchman, called Polete; he said the Indians had told him what your men had done, &c., and that they had seen Benet and Nail with you, and on that account had got mad with the French.

After fixing out my sentinels at Peoria at a proper distance, I marched my company through the village, where I found the doors of the houses open, and all the property left appeared like entire loss to the owners. I hourly expected you or Gen. Hopkins' army at that place. I

* This letter from Thomas E. Craig to Governor Edwards is in the shape of a report of his expedition to Peoria, and in that point of view is quite interesting. He was evidently in a high state of excitement in regard to certain parties at Peoria, of whom he speaks as "Dam'd Rascals", a characterization which would seem to be out of place in an official report.

thought the property they had left might be taken as a prize. I thought no men more deserving than my own, all the property that could be found was put on board the boats. We made use of some pork and ate the fowls, the pork I paid for. On the evening of the same day I landed there I was anchored in the river or lake opposite; at dark I saw a canoe with six men, about one mile below me; they appeared to be in great haste. I thought them to be Indians, as they appeared to shun us. I sent some men and had them brought to the boats. They were the company of Forsythe. I unarmed them and took them on board the boats. They told me that Forsythe had sent them on to see what we were doing. At the same time he might have come himself or written to me by them. This was the first I had ever heard of his coming. He was then a little distance below Peoria. The next morning his men wanted to meet him. I released four and kept two. The evening after, Forsythe came with about 25 men and all the squaws and children we had met. After going through the proper ceremony, was admitted to pass. From the recommendation I had got of Mr. Forsythe, I was glad to see him. They took up their dwelling in town, I suspect, as usual.

I asked Forsythe if he would anchor in the lake with me that night. He said not. I asked him if he was not afraid of the Indians. He said they were all gone, and he apprehended no danger, and I believe none of the citizens, from their actions. The sentinels on board my boats could hear and see them passing through town with candles, and hear canoes crossing the river all night for several nights. We

would land in the morning to cook, and see fresh horse-tracks in town. There is no doubt but they were Indians. Forsythe and myself were in company every day. On the third day, Forsythe made application for the property we had got in town. He said it belonged to him and the citizens. I, without hesitation, landed the boats and let them take all they claimed, except some of my own cooking tools and the peltry and property that came out of Lecroix and Besong's house, as I was told they were in Canada, trading with the British. This property I hold as a prize for the use of my company—tho' subject to your order. Forsythe and myself lived in this way, I thought perfectly friendly, for six or seven days. I am convinced the French knew of your return, and did tell him, but not me. They were in counsel every day, and did detain Governor Howard's express against his will after my letting him have rations to bring him down. I asked Mr. Forsythe when he expected you at that place. He said he was convinced that you were about 90 miles above Peoria, at a place called Flat Island, and would be there in the course of 6 or 7 days. About midnight of the 6th Novr., the wind blew so hard in the lake that we were forced to drop the boats about one-quarter of a mile below Peoria. We there cast anchor. The wind still continued to blow with such force that it broke our cable, and drifted the armed boat on shore. It was at that time very dark, and our anchor lost. I thought myself secure, as it was impossible for the Indians to discover us before daylight, except they were in town at the time we passed. Betwixt the break of day and daylight I opened the cabin door and was talking with

the sentinel on the stern deck; we had spoke but few words before we were fired on, by, I think, ten or more guns, not more than thirty yards from the boat. The men were instantly fixed for battle, but was disappointed, as they made their escape immediately. We only heard them yelp after the fire. So soon as it was clear daylight, I had the boats landed about the centre of the village, and sent to know what had become of the citizens. They said they had heard nor seen nothing. I then sent to the place from which we were fired on. There were tracks plenty leading from that place up to the village. This was what I expected. I instantly had them all taken prisoners, except Howard's express. They were all in Forsythe's house with their guns. Their guns appeared to be just fired; the most of them were empty. I gave them time to collect their property, which was done immediately. Forsythe said his cattle would be lost. I told him to take four of his men and hunt his cattle. That I would wait two days longer, and that he might drive them through the way he said he wanted to take them. He said it was too late, his cattle was gone, &c. Howard's express came on board my boat and told me that seven of the citizens went out, they said to hunt beef, that morning we were fired on. They started about the break of day and returned by daylight. He said perhaps there were more, for they never would let him know what they were going to do, and would talk together in his absence. He said he wanted to come with the six men in the canoe, but Forsythe would not let him. We staid two days after they were taken prisoners. I made them furnish their own rations all the time I kept them.

I burnt down about half the town Peoria, and should have burnt the whole and destroyed all the stock, but still expected Hopkins' army to pass that place. There was a keg of powder buried in Lecroix's house. While burning down, I found four American muskets in their possession and one keg of musket-balls, and one musket in Forsythe's house under the floor and some brass musket-moulds. On our way down the river, they were all unarmed, I gave them permission to camp on shore while I anchored in the river. They always preferred the Indian side for their camping ground. Forsythe appeared sulky and obstinate; in fact, every part of his conduct gave rise to the strongest suspicion of his not being a friend, and, in short, I am well convinced that the citizens done nothing, but what he was knowing too; he claimed property after refusing to take it at Peoria. He got all his property, and I am afraid more. He and the rest of the dam'd rascals may think themselves well off that they were not scalped. I find it impossible for me to describe his conduct in a proper manner. I have been very unwell since my return home. I can scarcely sit up to write you; but mending.

I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,

THOS. E. CRAIG.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c.,
of Illinois Territory, Elvirade.

CHAPTER VI.

Letter of Joseph Charless; printing laws of Illinois Territory; letters of Shadrach Bond to Governor Edwards while delegate to Congress; Edward Hempstead first delegate from Missouri Territory; resolution of the Legislature of Illinois Territory, respecting the partial introduction of negroes to carry on the salt-works; thinks it "would make a fuss with some"; "the feds." smile when the news of Winchester's defeat was announced in the House of Congress; calling of an extra session of Congress "to Play the Deviel with Western delegates"; Bond leaves "Racoon Grove" for Washington; wants a guard; letter of M. D. Hardin; speculations touching the war; letter of Mr. Bond; successors to Judges Stuart and Griswold; the latter a good lawyer, paid his debts, and sung David's Psalms; Judge Sprigg, the successor of Judge Stuart; his contempt for street politics; presentment of the grand jury against the judges of the Territory for non-attendance and non-residence; letter of Edward Tiffin; his public services; letter of Shadrach Bond; an intelligent, faithful, and vigilant representative of the people; his address to his constituents.

LETTER OF JOSEPH CHARLESS.

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 3d, 1813.

SIR:—Your communications were received on Friday last, consequently too late for Saturday's paper. They will be published in this week's *Gazette*. The manuscript which was handed to me by Governor Howard, (your "View of the Upper Country," &c.), I am at a loss to

know what has become of it, having searched my house and office in vain.

My young men who are accustomed to set type from manuscript copy, were on militia duty up the Illinois when it was received, and as soon as they returned home I intended to publish it, but it could not be found, nor could I discover what had become of it.

For the publication of your address to the St. Clair militia I deserve no thanks, for I am, and my press will ever be open, to rescue the deserving from obloquy and to give merit its due. In this, I look for no other reward than a consciousness of having done my duty.

You mention your having been authorized to have the laws printed. I have on the other side made a proposal, which is the Kentucky price, adding 25 per cent. I have a young man (now out of his apprenticeship) whom I should wish to employ, and I would thank you if you would let me know as soon as convenient, as he will wait in this place *only* for your answer. The bill of printing is as low as I can possibly do it, and I will not hesitate to say that I am as capable of performing the work in as correct a manner as any other printer in the Western country. The first volumns of Vesey's general reports, and East's, the continuation of Dunford & East's reports, which I printed for P. Byrne, in Philadelphia, is some criterion of correct work. And you will allow that I have claims for a preference, under a promise that if I would publish the laws in my paper I should have the volume to print. I published in the *Gazette* every law that came to hand. I am so bound to this place I cannot leave it for more than

a day. My wife is in a very precarious state of health, added to this, should I quit my office for three or four days no paper could be issued that week. If I knew when you intended visiting Cahokia shortly I would be happy to see you, but as my principal help in the execution of your book is on the wing I would be glad to know your sentiments soon. I am, respectfully,

Your friend,

JOSEPH CHARLESS.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS.

LETTERS OF SHADRACH BOND.*

WASHINGTON CITY, February 7th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—No mail from your country for three weeks past, of course know but little what you are about. Even since here I have been urging the necessity of more rangers being placed on our frontiers; have laid your plans before the Secretary of War, as well as recommending

* The above letter is the first of a large number of letters addressed by Mr. Bond to Governor Edwards during the time he was a delegate. As appears, according to the proceedings of Congress, on the 3d day of December, 1812, "Shadrach Bond returned to serve as the delegate in the House for the Illinois Territory; appeared, was qualified, and took his seat." The "Mr. H." whom Mr. Bond refers to, as having agreed with him "to submit a resolution," etc., was undoubtedly the Hon. Edward Hempstead, who was then in Congress as the first delegate from the Territory of Missouri, and who was the first man who ever sat in the halls of Congress from the west side of the Mississippi River. I have not in hand the resolution referred to, "respecting the partial introduction of negroes to carry on the salt-works." He was quite right in supposing that it would "make a fuss with some," and he well doubted about its "success." Congress never passed any such law.

As to the postscript touching the time of his election, the committee reported that he was to hold his seat for two years from the time of his election.

you to the command of the troops which may be sent there; all of which I have received no positive answer to yet. The resolutions which you sent me from the Territorial Legislature, respecting rangers, I laid before Congress; they were referred to the committee of military affairs; after some time they asked for and obtained leave to refer them to the Secretary of War, there I expect they are hung up to dry. Mr. Hempstead and myself jointly recommended an expedition against the Indians early in the spring. To this we have received no answer. A few days ago, we understood, a cabinet council was held, in which, report says, it was agreed on to build a chain of forts from Chicago to the mouth of Illinois river, from thence across the Mississippi, so as to include the settlement of St. Charles. This plan, I fear, will not protect our frontier settlements. Finding none of our plans approved of, on Thursday Mr. H. and myself agreed to submit a resolution to authorize the raising of ten companies of mounted riflemen for the protection of our frontiers. I cannot say whether this plan will be agreed to or not, but I mean to continue trying for protection as long as Congress is in session.

The letter you sent me has been published. Your address on discharging your army, Mr. Gales, says it is impossible for him to publish at the present. I have advised with some of my friends here about getting a law passed to compel the judges of our Territory to hold a court of chancery. They have advised me to let it rest until a copy of the laws comes on, as directed by the ordinance of the Territory.

(Fac-simile Letter of S. Bond.)

S. Bond —

P. S. The Committee is to act on the time of any Election to morrow — S. B —

(Fac-simile Letter of S. Bond.)

The Different Resolutions which I have rec'd from our Legislature is before Congress. The one respecting the Partial introduction of Negroes to carry on the Salt works I dispose will make I have prepared with some, I feel my self bound to obey the instructions; and there is a bill before the house now on the subject. I have Doubts about its success — on Thursday Genl Armstrong Secretary of war arrived in this City and has taken Possession of that office — I have taken some Pains to write as well as send you Documents but as the mail is so uncertain it is Probable I may get home before they arrive — respects to Mrs Edwards & Family Mrs C. & Family —.

I am Dear Sir yours respectfully

S. Bond —

P.S. The Committee is to act on the time of my Election to morrow — S.B —

(Fac-simile Letter of S. Brod.)

Yesterday the bill granting the right of pre-emption to all settlers on public land in the Illinois Territory, with the exception of town lots, &c., was sent to the President for his signature.

The different resolutions which I have received from our Legislature are before Congress. The one respecting the partial introduction of negroes to carry on the salt-works, I suppose, will make a fuss with some. I felt myself bound to obey the instructions, and there is a bill before the House now on the subject; I have doubts about its success. On Thursday, Gen. Armstrong, Secretary of War, arrived in this city, and has taken possession of that office. I have taken some pains to write as well as send you documents, but as the mail is so uncertain it is probable I may get home before they arrive. Respects to Mrs. Edwards and family, Maj. S. and family. I am, dear sir,

Yours, respectfully,

S. BOND.

P. S.—The committee is to act on the time of my election to-morrow. S. B.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois Territory.

WASHINGTON CITY, February 13th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—Yesterday I received yours of the 16th, 19th, and 20th of last month; much surprised that you have not heard from me, for I have wrote every four or five days since at this place to you as well as others of your neighborhood. This morning I laid your letter before the President. He says he will consider its contents; but I fear he does not think we are in as much danger as

we really are. Ever since at this place I have been urging the necessity of a strong force on our frontiers, which did not receive the attention I thought it ought, still I was determined to plague them if I got nothing done. On Thursday I went to see the Secretary of War again, and at length he consented to write a note to the committee of military affairs and recommend the raising of ten companies of rangers for the protection of the Western frontiers. Yesterday morning I laid it before the committee, and this morning the chairman reported a bill in favour, which in the course of one hour went through all its necessary operations in the House of Representatives and was sent to the Senate, which I expect they will pass, tho' I think this force is not sufficient, yet it is all that could be obtained. I think ere this you must have received mine, which informs you of your re-appointment. Your requests shall be attended to. A few days ago we received the melancholy news of Gen. Winchester's defeat, which you must have a detail of long ere you get this. Since the arrival of the news, this place appears to be in mourning, except a part of the feds. who could smile when the news was announced in the House of Congress, since which time there has been more pleasure pictured in their countenances than I have seen since at this place. The committee to whom was referred my resolution to inquire what alterations was necessary to be made to the law extending the right of suffrage in Illinois Territory have agreed to report on Monday morning that I am entitled to my seat for two years from the time of my election. The speaker says he has no doubt of my having a seat for that time, and that I

ought not have brought forward the resolution. I am sure of success. This is all the news but what I have given you before. Respects to Mrs. Edwards and family.

Your friend, S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois Territory.

WASHINGTON CITY, February 25th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—The ten companies of rangers to be raised under a late law for the protection of the Northwestern frontiers are divided as follows: Four companies for Indiana, three for Illinois, and three for Missouri, all of whom to be raised in the different Territories. The Secretary of War has at this moment directed me to inform you that the men may form into a company and choose their officers, which must be returned to you, and you to forward the same to the Secretary of War, and then he will immediately forward the commissions. The men and officers will be considered as entitled to pay from the time the returns are received by you. This day I expect a bill will pass this House for an extra session of Congress to meet I expect the last of May or first of June. This will Play the Deviel with us Western Delegates.* I shall be with you about the time of your court. It would be well to have the companies raised as soon as possible. I have informed Col. Tramell of the above and recommend him to have one company raised immediately. I shall leave

* The fear expressed by Mr. Bond that the calling of an extra session of Congress would "Play the Deviel with us Western delegates", is somewhat amusing. The Colonel Trammell referred to was a member of the Territorial Legislature from Gallatin County for the first and second sessions.

you to inform the balance of the Territory what is to be done.

Your friend, S. BOND.

P. S.—Mr. Armstrong approves of your plan of gun-boats, but has not as yet informed me what other force than the rangers are to be for us. S. B.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS.
Governor of Illinois Territory.

RACOON GROVE, April 26th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—I expect to be at Kaskaskia about Monday next, on my way to Washington. As I understand the Indians have been troublesome on the road, I shall be glad to be furnished with a guard, at least to Capt. Griffith's. I expect Mrs. Bond and my niece to accompany me. You will do me a favour in furnishing me with the number of Indians belonging to each nation that is at war with us, or that probably will be at war this season. I find money so hard to collect that I shall be compelled to call on you for some. I have thought the route by the coal banks will be the best to Mr. Ferguson's ferry. I must ask the favour of you to make the inquiry, and let me know by mail if you can furnish a guard. Your Friend,

S. BOND.

His Excellency N. EDWARDS,
Kaskaskia.

LETTER OF M. D. HARDIN.

FRANKFORT, May 25th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—I received your letter of the 12th ult° about

a week ago. When I started out for the army, I put your papers into the hands of Talbot and requested him to take the proper steps for you. When I came back I found that literally nothing had been done on your part, but that Richardson on his bill filed had advertised against you and pressed for a decree on the bill. I got a postponement, and had ordered a copy of the bill to be made out, to forward to you, when I rec'd your letter. I now enclose it.

Peter Dudley stayed at home but a few weeks, and went out at the head of a fine company of volunteers from this county. His return is uncertain, as he had a strong disposition to join the regular army. My engagement you must be convinced, from the little I have yet done in your business, precludes my giving it that attention it merits. Talbot did nothing in it. I therefore advise you to appoint some other person to be your agent or att° in fact. In addition to my former engagement, Col. Allen's business, professional and private, and the business of my office having devolved on me since my return, put it entirely out of my power to attend to any business out of court.

Maj. Voorhies wants to buy the plantation and offers notes. He will give $2000 in paper, with interest from the time he receives possession for the tract, independent of the part Ratliff claims, and $1000 more in good paper with interest from the time a title is made to the part claimed by Ratliff.

He has lodged (as he is now in the army) with me notes for $2000, if you would close with him. He offered to Richardson the same offer, but Richardson was not willing to do anything toward paying interest or rent, since he had

the land. If you close with Voorhies would it not be as well to agree in your answer, after denying the fraud, &c., to canceling the contract. Voorhies stands a better chance, I believe, to compromise with Strode's heirs, &c., than any other person I know.

Those who know the situation of Canada, the lakes, the course of trade, &c., &c., have long seen that Malden is not of half as much importance now as it was at the commencement of the war. Its great importance then was to strike a blow, take an imposing attitude, and awe the Indians into respect and neutrality. These objects are now lost—perhaps entirely beyond our reach—this war. The fall of Malden, if the enemy held the other posts, would be of little consequence. If we begin to get foothold on the other side of the line, Malden should then be taken, not as a principal object, but as one rallying-point of the enemy.

From your letter I conjecture you imagined that the officers of the N. W. army generally considered that post as of the first magnitude. I can assure you that the commander of that army, and most of the officers with whom I conversed, confidentially entertained a different opinion of its intrinsic importance after Hull's surrender than public rumour seemed to have affixed to it.

A report that seems entitled to credit has reached us that on the 18th inst., Dearborn took Fort George. Details not rec'd. Yours respectfully, M. D. HARDIN.

His Exc'y N. EDWARDS.

LETTERS OF SHADRACH BOND.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 7th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—Last evening I arrived at this place in good health as well as Mrs. Bond. I have just taken my seat and find nothing done by Congress worth relating. We this moment received the news of the capture of the frigate Chesapeake by the Shannon. It is said the British colors was flying on the Chesapeake in twenty-one minutes after the engagement commenced. This leads people here to believe the report is not true. As soon as any certain account arrives, you shall have it. Forts George and Erie are taken by Gen. Dearborn, with but little loss.

In yours of the 4th ult., I find some one blaming me for recommending Murdock for major of the rangers. This I ought not to be blamed with, for as you well know he was recommended by the Legislature of the Territory, and I felt myself bound to lay it before the Secretary of War. I agree with you, that each one shall enjoy his own opinion, and rest assured that I shall act with candor and sincerity towards you. I wished much to have seen you before I left the Territory, for a number of reasons, one of which was to have consulted you about the successor of Judge Stuart, as well as Judge Griswold,* for I am told he intends to resign. I hope you will write me on that sub-

* The Judge Griswold referred to by Mr. Bond was appointed to the bench of the Illinois District Court, March 16th, 1810. Judge Stanley Griswold was born in Connecticut in 1768, and was a preacher in his early days. He afterward studied law. He was appointed by President Jefferson secretary of Michigan Territory in 1805. He afterward removed to Ohio, and was appointed United States senator to fill a vacancy, serving from June 2, 1809, to January 12th, 1810. He was appointed judge of the Illinois Territory as above stated, and only a short time after the expiration of his senatorial ser-

ject and let me have the news of that place as often as convenient. Your friend,

S. BOND.

His Excellency N. EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory,
Russelville, Kentucky.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 11th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—I have just received yours of the 15th ult., as well as others of an earlier date. I find the militia have not been paid. The paymaster has promised me that he will send on the money Tuesday next to Capt. Whitlock, with directions not only to pay the militia that done service subsequent to the 4th of July, but to pay all the mounted men that furnished their own rations and forage. He says there is no law to authorize him to pay the infantry for rations, but that the contractor ought to do it, and then to charge the United States with the same. Would it not be well for you to make some arrangements with Mr. Morrison for the men? Yesterday the bill passed the House of Representatives to continue in force one year from the date and to the end of the next session of Congress, the law authorizing the raising of the first seven companies of rangers. I think Congress will be able to rise in about eight or ten days. We have no news but what you will get in your papers. Respects to Mrs. Edwards. Your friend, S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Russelville, Kentucky.

vice. Governor Reynolds, in his "Pioneer History", says that "Stanley Griswold was a correct, honest man, a good lawyer, paid his debts, and sung David's Psalms." He died at Shawneetown, Illinois, August 21st, 1815.

WESTMINSTER, FREDERICK COUNTY, MD.,
August 17th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—The day before Congress rose I received yours of the 14th ult. Glad to hear that you have had the happy meeting of your family and that you are all well. I rather think the muster rolls you allude to never came to hand, or I should have heard of them. If you will forward an account for your extra services as well as expenses against the next session of Congress, I will attend to it, and endeavor to have it paid. Some time since I wrote you in what manner our militia could get pay for their rations. Judge Sprigg* fills the place of Stuart. The grand jury of St. Clair and Randolph counties presented all our judges for non-residence and non-attendance, but before they arrived Judge Stuart resigned. I should have laid them before Congress, but the speaker decided that the presentments had no right to come before the House, as the jury had not directed it.

The law authorizing the first rangers to be raised is revised and to continue in force one year from the date and to the end of the next session of Congress. Mr. Armstrong has promised that Capt. Wm. B. Whiteside and his officers shall be kept in the ranging service. I am sorry that the nomination of all the officers was made for the last three companies of rangers before I knew that Harri-

* Judge Sprigg was appointed to fill the place of Judge Stuart. He was a Marylander of excellent family, a brother of his having been governor of that State. He is represented as a man of a strong, discriminating mind, a good lawyer, an excellent judge, and withal a fine classical scholar. Governor Reynolds represents him as having an utter contempt for street politics.

son Wilson wished an appointment. I wrote you before that the committee of public lands had refused to act on the report of our late board of commissioners until the next session of Congress. I got a bill before the House for opening the road from Shawneetown to Kaskaskia, but it was laid over until next session. We are in good health. Mrs. Bond joins me in respects to you and Mrs. Edwards. Please write me at this place, as I shall stay here until the next session. I am, sir, Your friend,

S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois Territory.
Russellville, Ky.

LETTER OF EDWARD TIFFIN.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
September 8th, 1813.

SIR:—Yours of the 17th ultimo has been received. In answer to which I can only call your attention (to the instructions given by the Secretary of the Treasury on the 25th of August, 1809,) to the late lease and my former communication. The present embarrassed state of the country on account of the Indian depredations will inevitably leave much to the exercise of your sound discre-

* Edward Tiffin was an Englishman by birth, coming to this country when ten years old. He was a physician by profession, and had occupied many distinguished positions in Ohio. He was a senator from that State, serving about two years, when he resigned, and was appointed by President Madison the first commissioner of the General Land Office, serving from May 7th, 1812, to October 11th, 1814. He died at Chillicothe, Ohio, which had always been his residence, August 9th, 1829.

tion; but keeping the great leading objects of the Government in view, of which you are already well informed, relative to the Saline, and retaining a clause subjecting the terms to the approbation of the President of the United States, you cannot fail in discharging this trust satisfactorily.

In case the old lessees do not again take the works, I do suppose, the new ones ought to pay the value of the improvements.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obt. servt.,

EDWARD TIFFIN.

His Excellency GOV. EDWARDS,

Illinois Territory, at Russellville,

Logan County, Kent'y.

LETTER OF SHADRACH BOND.*

WASHINGTON CITY, December 10th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—I should have wrote you long since, but not knowing where you was, I omitted it to the present. I am just informed that our legislature is in session, consequently I expect you are at Kaskaskia, and have forwarded you the president's message. There is one other message before the House of a secret nature; it has been before the House this two days, and probably will be for some time to come. I have heard that Genl. Howard has had an expedition into the Indian country, and from some

* This letter was written at the time during the War of 1812, when the House was in the habit of going into secret session to discuss war measures.

accounts I am led to believe he has not the good-will of the men as much as you had on your campaign of last year. Mrs. Bond and myself are in tolerable health; hope you and family are well. I hope you will still give me the news of the Territory. I shall give you the news of this place as it comes to hand, such as I think you have not had before I could send it. Respects to Mrs. Edwards and friends. Your friend, S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois T'ry,
Kaskaskia.

WASHINGTON CITY, December 23d, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—Two days ago I had the honor to receive yours of the 18th and 30th ult., the business of which shall be attended to as soon as possible; tho' that which has to go to the War Department must lay over until Genl. Armstrong arrives from the Canada lines. There is an imbargo law passed, a copy of which I have sent you. I have some hopes of getting a road from Shawneetown to Kaskaskia, but am afraid that nothing more can be done for the settlers on the public land in the district set apart for the location of claims. Last summer, Capt. Whitlock was ordered to pay our militia. I have been furnished with a copy of his letter to Mr. Brent, in which he states that the muster rolls are so vague that he can not decide on them without positive instructions. This business must, of course, lay over until Genl. Armstrong arrives, and then I hope it will be rectified. I shall push the business as fast as possible, for I expect the people have got out of all patience

about their pay, and no wonder if they have. This day I have had a consultation with the president and Mr. Tiffin, respecting the saline. I expect you will be ordered to lease them again, and perhaps to limit the lessees in the price. No news more than you will get in the papers. Mr. Sharp has received a letter from Mr. Laine, and as he is to be here the first of next month, we have agreed to let your business lay until he arrives, and then attend to it.

Respects to Major Stephenson and family.

Your friend, S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois T'y,
Kaskaskia.

WASHINGTON CITY, February 5th, 1814.

DEAR SIR:—As soon as I understood that Capt. Whitlock had refused to pay the rangers of Illinois Territory for the time they were in service before the officers were commissioned, I applied to the secretary of war and to the paymaster gen'l to have them paid. Our district paymaster was on the 4th instant ordered to go and pay them, under the same arrangements and provisions as those of Indiana, for which orders were issued on the 29th ult., they being first on the list, of course the instructions given for our Territory has reference to them. I will enclose you a copy of each instructions. You will see by those of 29th ult. what kind of proof is necessary to authorize payment. I hope you will have the muster rolls prepared against Capt. Whitlock arrives there, that the people may not lay out of their money any longer. We have some resolutions

before the Committee of Military Affairs to continue the rangers in service during the war; for giving a bounty in money and land to those who will continue in the service; and to compensate the rangers for any damages sustained while in actual service, by loss of horses or equipments, without any fault or negligence on their part. Should this be passed into a law, I will give you the earliest information. I am respectfully, your obt. servt., S. BOND.

P. S.—Your muster rolls of last summer all appear as mounted militia, and no rangers. The three additional companies of rangers ought to be paid as such from the time you received them into that service. S. B.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory.

WASHINGTON CITY, February 12th, 1814.

DEAR SIR:—Tho' I frequently called on the secretary of war for the purpose of knowing whether he would take your relation and Capt. Whiteside's son into the military school, I never could get an answer until this day. He has requested me to inform you that the barracks are already filled. That he has ordered more to be built, which will be finished by September next, and then it is probable those young men may be taken into the school. He has also informed me today that he can not pay your acc't for extra services as governor and comdr.-in-chief of the Illinois Territory. He says you can not be paid as gov'r and commander of militia at the same time. He has promised me an answer in a few days about your staff officers. I fear but few of them will be paid; tho' I will

use every effort in their favour, as well as yours. In my last, I informed you that Capt. Whitlock was ordered to pay the rangers for their services from the time you rec'd them into the service as rangers.

I am sorry to learn that Gen'l Howard has discharged Capt. Wm. B. Whiteside and company from the service. When I first heard of their discharge, I supposed it was done without authority; but the secretary informs me that General Howard was authorized to discharge as many companies as he saw fit. The military committee has reported a bill to continue in service one year longer the ten additional companies of rangers, which I think will pass. But if it is treated as was the law of last July, to continue the first rangers in the service, we may as well be without it.

I think Gen'l Howard was to blame for discharging the companies which he has, particularly at a season of the year when they are entirely flung out of any employ; all of which I have stated to the secretary of war. He seems disposed to justify Howard, and not to grant relief to the rangers. The Committee of Public Lands have just got through the examination of the report of the late Kaskaskia commissioners, and are prepared to report a bill in favour, and to provide for the location of unlocated claims, tho' not as the Legislature wished. The district will be enlarged and the settlers secured in their pre-emptions.

Your obt. servt., S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory,
Sydney Grove.

WASHINGTON CITY, February 23d, 1814.

DEAR SIR:—Yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving your favour of the — day of —— as to post routes. I expect to succeed in getting one from Cahokia to Madison C. H., to return by Clinton Hill; and from Kaskaskia to Johnson C. H. But I fear that I shall not be able to have it extended from thence to Salem, Ky., as contemplated in my resolutions. I will attend to the subject of a post-office at Coxe's. Some time since I rec'd a letter from you which led me to suppose that Col. Stephenson felt a coolness toward me. In my answer to that letter I endeavoured, and I hope I succeeded in convincing you and him that that coolness ought not to have existed; as to the appointment of field officers to the rangers. I think when I return there to be able to convince you all that my course has been a correct one. As to people bringing about any rupture between you, Mr. Pope, and myself, I think it can not be done. I know it can not on my part, unless there are greater causes than I have any idea of at present. And when I discover any, rest assured that you shall know it.

I am pleased with the candour of your letters, and hope you will continue to write me while at this place. We have some expectation of rising about the first of April. I am now trying to get a law passed to compel our judges to perform such duties as our Legislature have required of them. Your friend, S. BOND.

P. S.—I have informed the paymaster gen'l how Capt. Whitlock has acted in our Territory toward the rangers and militia. I hope it may have a good effect. S. B.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory, Sydney Grove.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 13th, 1814.*

DEAR SIR:—You will see by the inclosed letter what Mr. Simmons' objections are to paying Mr. Moore's account, which you will please to inform him of. On Friday last the bill confirming certain claims to land in the Illinois Territory, and providing for their location, passed the House of Representatives with several amendments. The first is to secure to the original claimant the right of proving his claim against the confirmee in any court of the Territory.

Sec. 5 gives the settlers to the first day of October to make their entries; the balance of the claimants are allowed from the first of October to the first of May, 1815, to make their entries, and ever after to be barred. The register is allowed 75 cents for each certificate. This, I think, will pass the Senate.

The Secretary of War seems determined not to give us any protection on our frontiers, notwithstanding the laws that has been passed to continue the rangers in service.

Your friend, S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory,
Elvirade.

WASHINGTON CITY, April 2d, 1814.

DEAR SIR:—This day I received yours 6th and 14th ult.,

* These letters from Mr. Bond to Governor Edwards, written from Washington while he was a delegate to Congress, present him in a most favorable light, and show that he was a faithful, intelligent, and vigilant representative of the people.

and have laid the subject before the Secretary of War.* He in the presence of J. Jennings of Indiana, and myself, directed the Adjutant-General to write Col. Russell immediately to call the rangers into service that has been discharged. The law passed about the 22d of February to continue the rangers in service for one year from the passage of the act. Long before that and ever since has Jennings, Hempstead, and myself been urging the Secretary to authorize us to state to the officers of the rangers that they were to continue in service; but he never would do anything until he found the Indians had commenced hostilities, and if our frontier settlers are all murdered he is chargable with it, for I told him all winter what would take place in the spring, and it has turned out precisely as I predicted. I fear the men cannot be got now in time to save the frontier. I stated to the Secretary to-day, as well as before, that it was necessary that you should have the command of the forces of your own Territory, but he will not consent to it. In haste. Your friend,

S. BOND.

P. S.—This week the President has recommended the repeal of the embargo law, which I think will carry.

S. B.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory,
Elvirade.

* The secretary of war at this time, of whom Mr. Bond complains and who it appears was so indifferent to the perils surrounding the settlements on our frontiers, was John Armstrong of New York.

WASHINGTON CITY, April 8th, 1814.

DEAR SIR:—This day I had the pleasure of receiving yours of 18th ult. Some time since I wrote you what officers of the staff, which served on your expedition to Peoria in 1812, was refused pay by the Secretary of War, and that Capt. Whitlock had been directed to pay the balance. In another letter I informed you that Capt. Whitlock was ordered to pay the militia of our Territory for 1813, and all the officers returned on the rolls for that year except one of the majors and one of the adjutants which Mr. Armstrong says ought not to have been called into service with the number of men that was out. Mr. Brent informs me that he is led to believe from a letter of Mr. Whitlock's that he never received your muster rolls for 1813, or he would have paid the militia long since. I stated to Mr. Brent that I had no doubt but you had forwarded muster rolls to Capt. Whitlock at the same time you did to him, but least something might be wrong, I prevailed on him to send rolls from his office to Capt. Whitlock at the same time that the instructions were sent. He has also directed Wm. A. Beaird to be paid as a private in Capt. Whiteside's company. All plans that you recommended which I saw fit to lay before the Secretary of War has been treated in such a manner that in future I shall lay them before the President. I don't wish this to be made public. I will procure you a copy of Capt. Whitlock's letter as requested. I hope to be able to leave here in a few days. Congress will rise about the 18th I expect. In haste.

Your friend, S. BOND.

P. S.—Since writing the above I thought it best to call

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Your friend,

S. BOND.

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on the Secretary of War and know what he would have done with the Kaskaskia Indians. He gave for answer that he did not know what to do with them, but as Gen. Howard was ordered back to that Territory he would give him some instruction about them in a few days.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory,
Elvirade.

WASHINGTON CITY, April 14th, 1814.

DEAR SIR:—Yesterday Mr. James B. Lane paid me $1000.03 for you. I have paid Mr. Gales $15 subscription for the *Intelligencer* and have deposited $985 in the Bank of Columbia for you, the certificate of which I carry on to you. I had hoped for some time passed to have been on my way home before now, but find I cannot start before Monday next, the day fixed for Congress to rise. Our road bill is again laid over to the next session of Congress. Your friend, S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory,
Elvirade.

LETTER OF SHADRACH BOND TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.*

SIR:—The great political events which have lately oc-

* This printed letter of Shadrach Bond to his constituents was found among the "Edwards Papers". It is published as an account of his stewardship, rendered to his constituents, and sent out with the purpose at the time of securing a re-election. Mr. Bond, however, resigned his position as delegate in October, 1814, and before the end of his term, to become the receiver of public moneys at Kaskaskia.

cupied, and still engage, the attention of Congress, you will find much more minutely detailed in the newspapers of our country, than I can undertake to communicate. The acts of Congress which relate exclusively to our territory, and such laws as directly affect its interest or prosperity, will alone be mentioned in this letter; because it would require volumes to contain all that has been done of a general nature, by the last and present Congress: but whatever has presented itself before the national legislature, in which the interest of the people was in any degree concerned, whom I have the honor to represent, it never failed to awaken all my anxiety, and to claim all my attention. In some instances, it is true, my fondest hopes have been disappointed; but I trust I have not been altogether unfortunate in securing to many of the good people of the Territory important rights and permanent advantages.

It may not be improper to state, that Congress during the last summer had been convened for the express purpose of devising a system of permanent revenue, to enable our country to support the war, with effect and energy, against the Tyrant of the Ocean; no business relating to the Territory, during the Summer Session, would Congress consent to engage in, except the law which was passed to continue in the service of the United States the first seven companies of Rangers which were authorized to be raised for the protection of our frontiers. These companies I find were unfortunately for the Territory, discharged from the service by General Howard, who was authorized to do so, by the Secretary of War.

At the present session, an act has been passed to continue in the service, for one year, from the passage of the act, the ten additional companies of Rangers which were authorized to be raised by an act of the 25th of February, 1813. For some time I feared that these companies would meet the same fate of the former; but, on the second instant, the Secretary of War directed that Col. Russell should immediately call the Rangers into service, which had been discharged.

An act has passed authorizing the Surveyor General to have not exceeding two sections of land laid out, into town lots, out-lots, &c., in the rear and adjoining Shawanee-town, so as to extend the town into the high lands; and as soon as the survey is made, the Commissioner of the General Land Office has informed me that the sales of the public lands, in the Shawanee district, will commence.

An act has also passed, confirming certain claims to land in the Illinois Territory, and providing for their location; this act enlarges the former district, and secures to each settler, who inhabited and cultivated a tract of land, within the district, before the 5th of February, 1813, the right of pre-emption in the purchase of not less than one-quarter, nor more than one whole section, including his improvement; and if the settlers have any unlocated confirmed claims, they are allowed to give them in as pay, for as many acres of the land which they shall enter under the pre-emption law, as their certificates call for; the settlers within the district aforesaid are allowed until the first day of October next to make their entries, and the balance of the claimants from the first day of October next to the first of May, 1815, to make their entries.

Another act has passed the House of Representatives, and I have no doubt will pass the Senate, establishing a post route from Cohokia to Madison C. H. and to return by Clinton Hill to Cohokia, and from Kaskaskia to Johnson C. House.

The various laws to which I have referred, are all that, at this moment, present themselves to my recollection. It is true that some business of importance has been laid over until the next session of Congress; but it is not to be expected that a delegate, who cannot vote on any question himself, would be able to command the same interest, attention, and influence in Congress, that he would command if he possessed the same extensive privileges in common with its members. I shall rejoice, however, if my best intentions and feeble exertions shall meet with your approbation and that of my fellow-citizens, conscious of having discharged my duty with attention and faithfulness, I shall still hope to merit the approbation of my countrymen.

I shall leave here in a few days for the Territory, where I hope to have the pleasure of communicating to you personally a more satisfactory account of the proceedings of Congress at the two last sessions.

With sentiments of respect,

I am your obedient humble servant,

SHADRACH BOND.

Washington City, April 15, 1814.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Governor of the Illinois Territory.

CHAPTER VII.

Letter of James Monroe, secretary of war; letter of J. Meigs, commissioner of the general land-office; letter of Benjamin Stephenson, an early pioneer, second delegate to Congress from Territory of Illinois, receiver of public moneys at Edwardsville, father of Colonel James W. Stephenson of Galena; Governor Edwards and Colonel Stephenson intimate and life-long friends; letter of Daniel P. Cook to Governor Edwards; brief sketch of Mr. Cook and Nathaniel Pope; Cook a man of great ability, four times elected to Congress from the State of Illinois, acting-chairman of the committee of ways and means during his last term of service, beaten for Congress in 1826 by Joseph Duncan; broken down in health, dies in Kentucky, October 16th, 1827; a brilliant and distinguished career cut short at the age of thirty-two years; "the paths of glory lead but to the grave"; though a Kentuckian, a strong anti-slavery man and opposed to the convention resolution; first attorney-general of the State of Illinois, judge of the Circuit Court in the western circuit; Cook County named after him; married the daughter of Governor Edwards; left one son, General John Cook of Springfield, Illinois; letter of Shadrach Bond; applies to be appointed secretary of the Territory in the event of the election of Nathaniel Pope as a delegate to Congress; letter of John Pope of Kentucky, respecting his defeat for Congress; letter of Daniel P. Cook; desires to purchase land near where the seat of government is to be; letter of William H. Crawford, in regard to the United States Salines; letter of Joseph Charless, criticising letter of Major Christy; letter of Governor Clark of Missouri Territory.

LETTER OF JAMES MONROE.*

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, November 23, 1814.

SIR:—I have had the honor to peruse your letter of the 18th October last to the Hon. Mr. Stephenson on the subject of supplies for the Kaskaskia Indians. I have to request your Excellency will supply these Indians with money and clothing to the amount of their annuity, if in your power to procure them in the Illinois Territory, for the payment of which your bills on this Department will be duly honored.

I have the honor to be respectfully, sir,

Your ob. serv.,

JAS. MONROE.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory.

LETTER OF J. MEIGS.†

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
12th December, 1814.

SIR:—Your favor of 7th November has been received; if the Salt lick which you state to have been discovered by Conrad Will and his associates lies in the district of Shawneetown or of Kaskaskia, you will be pleased to refer him to the register of the land office for the district in which the lick lies, to obtain a lease; if it is not in either district you will be pleased to execute a lease (not exceeding three

* Mr. Monroe succeeded John Armstrong as secretary of war, September 26, 1814.

† Mr. Meigs was the commissioner of the General Land Office, and succeeded Edward Tiffin.

years) on such terms as you think just, subject to the approbation of the President of the United States. In my opinion the rent ought not to be less than the interest of the purchase money of the tract leased, with a clause to prevent waste of timber on the adjacent tracts.

I am very respectfully, sir,

Your obed't serv't,

J. MEIGS.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor Illinois Territory,
Kaskaskia.

LETTER OF BENJAMIN STEPHENSON.*

SUMMERSET, 22d April, 1815.

DEAR SIR:—I arrived here this evening with my family. The road is extremely bad. In four days more I expect to reach Pittsburg, when I intend to take water to Ferguson's ferry.

I flatter myself with seeing you in Kaskaskia about the

* This letter was written by Mr. Stephenson, from Somerset, Pa., on his return from Washington to Illinois Territory. Mr. Stephenson was one of the best known of our early pioneers, having emigrated from Kentucky to Randolph County in 1809. He was colonel of militia in the war of 1812. When Shadrach Bond resigned his position as delegate in 1814, Mr. Stephenson was elected to fill the vacancy. He was re-elected to the next Congress. He appears never to have been in the Legislative service of the State. After his Congressional service, he was appointed as receiver of public moneys at Edwardsville, of which town he was always a prominent citizen up to the time of his death. He was the father of Col. James W. Stephenson, who was the receiver of public moneys at Galena in 1836, and who was, in 1838, nominated as the democratic candidate for governor. After the nomination he was compelled to withdraw from the ticket, and soon after died of consumption. Governor Edwards and Colonel Stephenson were intimate and life-long friends. Judge B. S. Edwards of Springfield was named for Colonel Benjamin Stephenson.

15th or 20th of May next. If it wo'n't be troubling you too much I would be very glad if you would rent me a house in Kaskaskia; I shall also want a hatter's shop. I have a young man along, who I wish to go to business immediately; I have every thing with me necessary to set him up, except fur. I am anxious to be in your country previous to the treaty with the Indians. Get any house that you think will answer; we won't be particular for the present. Yours sincerely,

B. STEPHENSON.

N.B.—I am convinced my friends have not received half the letters I wrote, I know the number I did write.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

LETTER OF WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 8th, 1816.

SIR:—By a regulation of the 7th instant, the commanding officers of posts to which the Indians are in the habit of resorting, are required to certify all abstracts for rations issued to them. The conduct of some of the agents at the outposts, has rendered this regulation necessary. In making it general, no censure is intended to be cast upon the transactions of this nature under your superintendence. On the contrary, the department has the fullest confidence in the rectitude with which your superintendence has been exercised.

* Mr. Crawford was secretary of war in the second term of Mr. Madison, and secretary of the treasury during both the terms of Mr. Monroe. More will be said of him hereafter.

The particular misconduct which has suggested the regulation, occurred in the course of the last year in the Creek nation, and appears to have been of the most flagrant character.

The subordinate agents ought to be deeply impressed with the necessity of acting with perfect fairness, in this respect, as the difficulty of establishing fraud, when practised, will make it necessary to remove them upon the slightest evidence.

I have the honor to be
Your most obed't and
very humble servant,
WM. H. CRAWFORD.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory,
Kaskaskia.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.*

KASKASKIA, June 8th, 1816.

DEAR GOV.:—I received your letter of the 3rd inst. at too late a period to publish the information you was so

* We meet here, for the first time, a letter of Daniel Pope Cook to Governor Edwards. Mr. Cook, a native of Kentucky, immigrated to the Territory of Illinois in 1815. He was, at the time of the date of this letter, the editor and a joint owner with Robert Blackwell of the *Illinois Intelligencer*, which was at that time the only newspaper and printing-office in the Territory. This press was the first one brought to this Territory, from Kentucky, in the fall of 1809, and published by Matthew Duncan.

Nathaniel Pope was a candidate for Congress from Illinois Territory in 1816, and was elected, and took his seat December 2d of that year. He was re-elected to the succeeding Congress, and procured the legislation which admitted the Territory of Illinois into the Union. His life and public service, both in the Territory of Illinois, as a delegate to Congress, and as the first

kind as to give me in the paper of Wednesday last, but it will appear in our next. I should be very glad to publish your letter to the Secretary of War, at this time, but Mr.

judge of the United States District Court of the State of Illinois for thirty-two years, in which position he greatly distinguished himself, are well known. He was the brother of John Pope, governor of Arkansas Territory, member of Congress, and U. S. senator from the State of Kentucky, and father of Major-General John Pope, of the United States Army.

The Oglesby spoken of was Joseph Oglesby, a doctor and preacher, an early settler of Illinois Territory, and a member of the General Assembly of the Territory from St. Clair County in 1812–13. Ménard and Fisher, spoken of as having "absolutely come out as candidates" for delegate, were both members of the Territorial Legislature in 1816; Ménard as president of the Council, and Fisher as speaker of the Assembly. Pope distanced all the candidates and was triumphantly elected. Such was the standing of Governor Edwards, who was the friend and, I believe, the relative of Nathaniel Pope, that Cook was undoubtedly right when he said that the "supposition" that Edwards "was unpopular" was a "dam'd foolish one".

Cook was undoubtedly one of the ablest and most remarkable men whose name ever graced the annals of Illinois. At the first election for congressman, after the State was admitted, he was beaten by John McLean of Shawneetown, by a majority of fourteen votes. The candidates were young men, both from Kentucky, and in the canvass at that and a subsequent election they proved themselves men of rare ability and surpassing eloquence. This was the commencement of *stump speaking* in Illinois. In the next election the same candidates were before the people, but McLean was beaten by Cook. He was three times re-elected, making a service of eight years. He was but just of the constitutional age when he made his first canvass. In his last term of service he was the acting-chairman of the committee of Ways and Means—Louis McLane of Delaware, the chairman, being absent—and he discharged the duties of that most onerous and responsible position with so much ability and evinced such a thorough knowledge of all matters which come before the committee and the House, as to challenge the respect and admiration of all the members. And this was at a time when his health was failing and his physical powers were becoming exhausted. It seemed that as his bodily weakness increased, his great mental qualities shown brighter and brighter.

In 1826, Mr. Cook was beaten for Congress by Joseph Duncan. Of a naturally feeble constitution and with delicate health, his great labors began to tell upon him, and he ended his congressional service on the 4th day of March, 1827, a confirmed invalid. He soon after went to Cuba, in the vain hope of restoring his health. In the month of June thereafter he returned

Pope thinks it had better not be published until after the election. He considers the public mind in as good a state for the election at this time as it is possible ever to get it,

with his family to his home in Edwardsville. But nothing could stay the progress of the dreadful disease (consumption) which was consuming his life. He was on that road over which we must all once pass:

"—— calcanda, semel, via lethi."

His mind reverted to the place of his birth and to the joys of his childhood. He went back to his own Kentucky to die, and there he breathed his last, October 16, 1827. Though cut down at the early age of thirty-two, he had accomplished more than most men during the course of a long life. In him, statesmanship seemed native and intuitive. In the House of Representatives he showed a complete mastery of all questions that were to be discussed, and he stated his conclusions with such clearness, force, and precision as always to command the strictest attention of members. There was before him when he died the promise of a most brilliant and distinguished career, which would have added additional lustre to his name and brought additional honor to the State of his adoption. But in his case, the words of the poet Gray, though used in a different connection, were to be realized:

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

In the great slavery struggle in this State in 1823–4, Mr. Cook, though coming from a slave-State, was one of the most pronounced opponents of the "Convention Resolution." It is somewhat curious that while he was a Kentuckian and a strong anti-slavery man, his cotemporary, living in the same town (Kaskaskia), Elias Kent Kane, a New Yorker, and so prominent in our earlier politics, was a pro-slavery man, who advocated making Illinois a slave state. It is a remarkable as well as a most creditable fact, that of the *eighteen* members in the "Convention Legislature" who resisted the Convention Resolution, *ten* of them were from the slave States.*

It should have been stated that Mr. Cook was the first attorney-general of the State of Illinois, and for a short time a judge of the Circuit Court in what was then called the "Western Circuit." Four years after his death the legislature of the State honored his memory by giving his name to Cook County. In respect of his high character, his great ability, his honorable name, and of the inestimable service he rendered to our great commonwealth, the County of Cook should erect a monument to his memory.

Mr. Cook married the daughter of Governor Edwards. He left one son, John Cook, late of Springfield, Ill., and who was a brigadier-general in the War of the Rebellion, appointed by Mr. Lincoln.

* "Sketch of Edward Coles," by E. B. Washburne.

and if your letter, though truly interesting, should be published, with such remarks as I wish to make when it is published, it might excite some party feeling that is at present entirely neutralized. The publication of this letter shall be made so soon as the election is over, or immediately, if you and Mr. Pope after seeing each other on that subject, accord in the opinion that it will be proper so to do. I feel certainly an interest in the publication of that letter, as it will doubtless form the basis of the regulation of the Indian trade in this country; and besides, I wish you to be here when it is published, as I shall wish to make some comments on the importance of the subject, and altho' I shall do it as my own entirely, I shall wish very much to have your assistance in that business. Indeed it appears to be a subject of such acknowledged importance that a man who is able to develop its niceties may well expect to acquire some fame for so doing; and I therefore wish your assistance in making my remarks, least I should discover a want of a tolerable knowledge of the subject, which would rather make me appear ridiculous than otherwise.

I think there will be almost unanimity in favor of Mr. Pope's election; there will be no opposition even of a respectable description. I am, however, told that your friend Oglesby says he wants to be elected so that he may get a new Gov., and by this expects to derive support from all your enemies. This is an idea that is bottomed upon the supposition that you are very unpopular, which in candor, I think, a dam'd foolish one.

Ménard and Fisher have absolutely come out as candi-

dates, which is supposed to settle the business in this county. But there is much division in the other counties, I am told.

I am Sir, your Excellency's
most ob't, humble sev't,
DAN'L P. COOK.

Hon NINAN EDWARDS,
St. Louis.

LETTER OF SHADRACH BOND.*

KASKASKIA, June 18th, 1816.

DEAR SIR:—There is no doubt but Mr. Pope will be elected to Congress. He informs me that as soon as the election is over he will resign his office of secretary. It is my intention to apply for the same, and he assures me that I shall have his support if it meets your approbation. I now ask, and flatter myself, that you will support my views. I believe your family are well.

I am very respectfully,
Sir, your ob't serv't,
S. BOND.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
St. Louis.

* Mr. Bond was *not* appointed secretary of the Territory on the resignation of Nathaniel Pope. Joseph Phillips obtained the appointment, and October 9th, 1818, was appointed chief-justice of the Supreme Court of the State. He ran for governor in 1822, and was beaten by Edward Coles, by a plurality of fifty votes. This was the turning point in the destiny of Illinois. Phillips soon afterward left the State.

LETTER OF JOHN POPE.*

DEAR SIR:—I have lost my election here by mismanagement and some reports; one about the alien and sedition laws, urged against me by Wollen's friends. I intend to make a short statement on this subject for the satisfaction of my friends who are strong and influential and not at all discouraged by the result. If you recollect an argument or conversation we had at Lewis Irwin's on the constitutionality of the sedition law in 1798 or 1799, that I was opposed to those laws; that I was a candidate in 1800 for elector many months before the election in November; that my vote on the alien and sedition resolution was objected to me long before the election; that it was a subject of conversation and discussion long before the election; that I circulated a printed address in defence and explanation of my vote before the election; that I reviewed my opposition to those laws and in favour of a change of administration; that I objected to the nullification clause of the resolution, in the words following: That a nullification of all unauthorized acts of the general government by the States is the rightful remedy. Did you not understand my objection as going to the remedy—not that I was in favour of the laws? On all the above points I wish you to be as full as your recollection will enable you. My argument at Lewis Irwin's you can state to be with a gentleman. I only want the fact of the notoriety of my opinion on that subject. Two points are important to me

* Mr. Pope served out a six-year term in the Senate of the United States from Kentucky, ending in 1813. It was in 1829 that he was appointed governor of Arkansas Territory.

LETTER OF JOHN POPE.*

to prove: my opinion about those laws; and that the vote was objected to me long before the election and much talked of and discussed. I will dispense with your letter or certificate if I can. Your immediate answer will oblige me much. Your friend and relative,

JOHN POPE.

Lexington, August 18th, 1816.

His Excellency N. EDWARDS,

Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.*

SCOTT COUNTY, Feby. 6, 1817.

DEAR GOV'R:—I am just starting to the City of Washington, partly on my own account and partly on account of my father, who has business in Virginia.

I expect to return in April.

My father has authorized me to purchase one section of land in the neighborhood of the place where the seat of government will probably be fixed, and will advance me the money when the place is fixed upon or where you may think it will be. If you purchase any land in the neighborhood, where you think it will be established, I wish you would enter a section, provided you think it is valuable or good, for me, and if you can spare the amount of the first installment until I return, so soon thereafter as the money can be brought on, I will refund it. If land in that place

* Mr. Monroe had been elected president in 1816. As John Pope had predicted, Mr. Adams was made secretary of state; but Mr. Clay was not made secretary of war, but John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was.

and of a good quality can be entered, I feel solicitous about it, because the land will be for myself and I wish to hold my dish while the porridge is falling—as it is not always that it does fall

A new election will be held in Missouri so says Congress.

John Quincy Adams, Mr. Pope writes, is certainly to be sec'y of state—Mr. Clay sec'y of war.

You would be surprised to see how popular John Pope is at this time with the legislature and the people—I do expect he will in one year be the most formidable man in the State. I think from my observations that he will completely rule Slaughter.

I am yours sincerely,

DANL. P. COOK.

LETTER OF WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, 19th March, 1817.

SIR:—The lessees of the saline on the waters of the Ohio who preceded Mr. Bate in the order of time, alledge that they have not received that compensation for the improvements which they made upon the premises during the existence of their leases, to which they were entitled under it, and that they have received nothing for the improvements which were upon the premises antecedent to their occupancy of them, which were either made by them, or their value advanced to those by whom they were made.

* This letter of Mr. Crawford, who was then Mr. Monroe's secretary of war, is all in his own handwriting, and shows what close personal attention he gave to business, and how thoroughly he understood all the details of his department.

They alledge that your instructions excluded from the valuation which was set on foot, at the expiration of their lease, many improvements which are fairly comprehended by the letter and spirit of the lease, in consequence of which one of the appraisers, as the agent or friend of the former lessees, declined the execution of the duty assigned him and compromised the matter with Mr. Bate by agreeing to accept of a gross sum without regard to the value of the improvements. It may be proper to observe that the lease makes no provision for the repayment of any sum which may be advanced by a lessee upon taking possession of the premises, for the improvements which have been made by those who have preceded him. This omission must have been the result of design or accident. It may have been the intention of the government to retain as permanent improvements, at the expiration of each successive lease, everything which had been put upon the premises during the existence of the antecedent and prior leases; considering the use of the property by the subsequent lessee during the continuance of his lease as a fair equivalent for the sum paid upon taking possession of the premises. Or it may have been the result of a conviction that such improvements would cease to be useful at the expiration of the second lease after they were made, or from the difficulty of distinguishing between the improvements made on successive leases, or from the constant changes in the value of those improvements.

I understand that in addition to the ordinary causes of change in the value of those improvements, the lessees are in the habit of breaking up one line of pipes and making

another, using however the original pipes for the new line. In cases of this kind, it is manifest, that if the new line is considered an improvement for which the actual lessee is entitled to compensation, the government will be subject to great injustice if the lessee is also entitled to receive back the amount paid by him for the line of pipes so changed during his lease. Notwithstanding the views here presented, it may have been the understanding of the parties that they were to receive upon the expiration of their leases, the value of the improvements which they found upon the premises and which were left by them in the same state of preservation and usefulness as they were received.

It is true that the contracts in question have not been long enough in existence to establish anything like a special custom which in a court of law or even of equity would be permitted to control the rules of construction in relation to such contracts; but in a case of this kind the government is willing that the legal construction of those leases should yield to the fair and explicit understanding of the lessees, and the officer of the government charged with the execution of that duty, at the time the leases were made. Under this view of the subject, the lessees who preceded Mr. Bate are referred to you for a decision upon their claim for additional allowance. How far the person who acted as their agent and entered into an agreement with Mr. Bate by which a gross sum was paid for the improvements, ought to bind them, and how far their subsequent conduct has made his act their own, notwithstanding there may have been a defect of authority originally, is also referred to your decision. The evidence upon that

point in the possession of this department is very slight indeed. It is presumed that all the circumstances are known to you, and that if they are not they can be easily obtained from Mr. Bate. It has however been intimated that some difficulty occurred in obtaining from Mr. Bate the amount agreed by him to be paid. If this intimation is well founded the clearest evidence of their subsequent sanction of the arrangement can be obtained. If this compromise has placed the United States in a worse situation than if it had not been made, the inconvenience ought to fall upon the lessees.

The whole subject however, is referred to your excellency with a request that you will do what is right and proper, and that if you feel any difficulty in deciding upon all or either of the points involved in it you will favor me with your views upon it.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient and very humble serv't,

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor &c., &c., of Illinois Territory.

LETTER OF JOSEPH CHARLESS.*

ST. LOUIS, April 16th, 1817.

GOVERNOR EDWARDS,

Dear Sir:—Your communication, and matter from the Kankaskia paper, will all be published this week (if pos-

* There is at the end of this letter a somewhat amusing criticism of the letter of William Christy.

sible) agreeable to your wishes. The "Western Sun", with a letter directed to me, as coming from a subscriber, dated Madison county, Illin. Ter., came into the office during my late attack of rheumatism, my children did not take his name, but is known to them, as he frequently calls for the Goshen packet of papers. I have directed them to call me (if absent from the office) when he again presents himself.

We have very little news here at this time, except that the arrival of a new printer, brought on by Christy, Carr & Farrar, can be noticed. *Maj.* Christy told Doctor Simpson *they wanted a good printer*, &c., &c. Now to give you a specimen of the literary acquirements of this learned critic, I will beg leave to refer you to the subjoined letter of the Major—in his best style.

Very respectfully,

JOS. CHARLESS.

Verbatem ad literatem.

(Amusement) SUNDAY—17th April, '14.

Sir

Yur sons and apprentice Boys are almost dayley in the habit of runing through my field treading my young wheet and Clover, & Shooting fowls in my Pond I have more then once forbid them doing so but in vain—If you do not think propir to put a stop to these depradations I shall be under the nicessity of taking such steps as will

Yr &C

W CHRISTY

MR J. CHARLESS

ERRATA.

For yur	read ---- your.	For propir	read - proper.
" dayley	read ---- daily.	" depradation	read -------- depredation.
" runing	read - running.		
" then	read ---- than.	" nicessity	read ---------- necessity.
" forbid	read - forbade.		
" wheet	read -- wheat.		

LETTER OF GOVERNOR CLARK OF MISSOURI TERRITORY.

ST. LOUIS, 21st. May, 1817.

DEAR SIR:—Last evening, about *sixty* of the Wild Oats arrived this place, and say they came under the invitation received from the Commissioners. They have only one chief, and I believe their object is to receive some presents.

I have requested them to visit you at Kaskaskia, which they in reply objected to. Please to inform me what you wish me to do with these people. I have supplied them with provisions which I can only procure by purchase at a high price, the Contractor having no agent at this place to furnish rations to Indians.

Accept of my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

WM. CLARK.

GOV. EDWARDS, Kaskaskia.

NOTE.—The Cherokees have declared war against the Osages and sent out two parties.

CHAPTER VIII.

Letters of Daniel P. Cook; Col. Lane; Cook predicts that Mr. Clay would be secretary of war: seeks the appointment of secretary of Alabama Territory; in relation to expenditures of Mr. Boilvin as Indian agent at Prairie du Chien; declines appointment of clerk in the state department; speculations as to Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Rush, Mr. Clay, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Gallatin; letter of Auguste Chouteau, early settler and Indian trader of St. Louis; his great influence over the Indian tribes of the Northwest, negotiates many Indian treaties, a man distinguished for probity and integrity, brother of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., of St. Louis, his wife the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Ménard of Kaskaskia; another letter of Auguste Chouteau; letter of Daniel P. Cook; his canvass for Congress in 1818 against John McLean; warm opposition from slave-men, but still warmer support from freemen; letter of Thomas H. Benton; recommends that General Bissell be appointed to command in St. Louis; letter of Governor Bond to Edwards, Thomas, and McLean; another letter of Governor Bond in regard to additional pay for receivers of land offices; letter of Daniel P. Cook; recommends the appointment of Greenberry Ridgeley as secretary of Arkansas Territory; predicts "reappointment" of Governor Edwards to United States Senate nem. con.; later letter of Mr. Cook on the same subject; lawless projects to defeat the election of Governor Edwards; criticism of Governor Bond and Elias Kent Kane.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.

WASHINGTON, 11th Sept., 1817.

DEAR GOVERNOR:—Since my return I have not done myself the honor of troubling you with a line. As I had

nothing to write worthy of your attention, and having had the pleasure of hearing that you were well by Mr. Bennett as well as your family, I have therefore deferred writing until now.

From an intimacy that has arisen between Col. Lane and myself, I have ascertained that you and he are not on such terms as I think is desirable to him, and which I have no doubt would be desirable to yourself. An anxiety on the part of Col. Lane to make a request of you is counteracted by that circumstance, and he has therefore consented that I should make it for him. He is in a handsome situation here and is much respected, and from the opportunity which he would have of attending to your daughters, in waiting on them in the best company, and of rendering their situations pleasant while completing their education. He is extremely desirous that you will send them on, to this place, under his charge. He assures me that nothing would give him more pleasure than to have this wish gratified, and in gratifying it, I doubt not but you would be equally gratified in the advantages which your daughters would derive from his attentions and the other advantages desirable in this place. Col. Lane, I am authorized to say, would be glad to hear from you on this subject, and for a friendly intercourse to ensue. In a few days I shall be advised of the course which I will persue in regard to my own concerns; whether I shall go elsewhere or remain here, I am not yet certain; when it is certain, I will do myself the honor of letting you know. Mr. Clay did me the honor of calling to see me yesterday, who I think is certainly now to be Secretary of War. He speaks highly

of Indiana, and I think has an eye on his popularity in the Territories, as they will become States before an opening presents itself for the gratification of his ulterior views in politics.

Present my respects to Mrs. Edwards and family, and accept assurances of my highest regard and friendship.

DAN'L. P. COOK.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25, 1817.

DEAR GOV.:—I have the pleasure to inform you that some of your friends at this place aré mentioning you as a proper person for Secretary of War. I have written a short communication for the *National Register*, which I have sent, recommending you; the editor also recommended you. I can't pretend to say what prospect there is, but it will at least be of use to you at home. You are also well spoken of in the Baltimore paper.

As yet I do not know what I am to engage in. I can get a clerkship in the State department with a good salary, but I won't go into it; it is too confining. I shall know in a few days whether I go as Secretary of Alabama Territory* or not. The President, it is feared, has made up his mind; if so, I shall fail; there is no situation vacant at present for me but that; I have Adams' assurance to befriend me at any time. You will see a communication in the *Na-*

* It was fortunate for Mr. Cook and our State that he never received the appointment of secretary of Alabama Territory at this time. Such an appointment would have changed his entire destiny.

tional Intelligencer of the 24th inst. on the subject of foreign clerks in the departments here, which I wrote, but remain yet *in cog.* Much talk now is made about it in the departments, because it is true; it is popular with all but the foreigners.

I have put your name as a subscriber to the *National Register.* Mr. Morrison is here; all there are well; he, for the first time in his life, treats me with marked attention.

My respects to Mrs. E., and my greatest friendship for yourself. D. P. COOK.

I am not yet well. May it not be better for me to return to Kaskaskia and wait for prospects in that country if I don't go to Alabama? Will you please write on rec't of this.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26, 1817.

DEAR GOVERNOR:—At the request of Mr. Bolvin, I have the honor to request you to send a certificate to the Secretary of War, sanctioning those expenditures which he incurred for the Government in his capacity as Indian Agent at Prairie du Chein. A copy of the account of expenditures, he informs me, is in your possession. By a letter from the Hon. W. Eustis, Secretary of War, bearing date April 25, 1811, I see he was vested with discretionary power to expend on account of the Government as much as should be thought necessary, and for which he was to be allowed; and by a letter from you to him, bearing date 28th July, 1815, the same extensive discretionary

[Fac-simile Letter of Danl. P. Cook]

our Ms return to this post

I have the honor to be
Your. Ob. Humble Ser.
Danl. P. Cook

Gov.
N. Edwards

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

(Fac-simile Letter of Danl. P. Cook)

1815. the Canada, exclusive discretionary
power as given. The Secretary of War
Mr Graham, refuses to settle his accounts
until they are sanctioned by you, which
sanction is only required, as a prerequisite,
to their final settlement and allowance
Mr. Bolvin desires me to say that, the Secretary
of War, has informed him, that it is
unnecessary for him to remain here, any longer
and he wishes you, to forward your letter
to the Dept and prep a final settlement
of them. He thinks he will not remain
to have them closed, as it would prevent
him from ascending the rivers this
fall or winter.

Mr Bolvin desires his compliments
to be presented you, and hopes to see you
on his return to this part.

I have the honor to be
your. Ob. Humble Svt.
Danl. P. Cook

Hon. Ed.
N. Edwards

power is given. The Secretary of War (Mr. Graham) refuses to settle his accounts until they are sanctioned by you, which sanction is only required as a prerequisite to their final settlement and allowance. Mr. Bolvin desires me to say that the Secretary of War has informed him that it is unnecessary for him to remain here any longer, and he wishes you to forward your letter to the Secretary and press a final settlement of them. He thinks he will not remain to have them closed, as it would prevent him from ascending the river this winter.

Mr. Bolvin desires his compliments to be presented you, and hopes to see you on his return to his post.

I have the honor to be,

Your ob't humble serv't,

DAN'L. P. COOK.*

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 2, 1817.

DEAR GOV.:—Since I wrote to you Mr. Adams† has received an answer from the President stating that my application for the Secretary's office in Alabama "came too late to have that attention paid to it which it merited, having previously promised it to another."

* This letter of Mr. Cook is lithographed, as showing an admirable business handwriting and his facility of expression.

† It seems that at this time Mr. Cook was quite desirous of obtaining an officicial appointment under Mr. Monroe's administration. He had failed in securing the appointment of secretary of Alabama Territory, and he evinces in this letter his wisdom in declining to enter the state department as clerk. Mr. Adams seems to have been very friendly with Mr. Cook, as the latter, as bearer of dispatches, had taken to him, while he was minister to London, the invitation of Mr. Monroe to Mr. Adams to become his secretary of state.

I could get into the State Department as a clerk, but experience tells me it won't do to engage in close, laborious writing, and it would not satisfy my ambition to be buried in an office—merely as a servant as it were—where the world, perhaps, would never hear of such a being. Mr. Adams assures me he will at any time take pleasure in bringing me before the Government when an opportunity offers. There being no situation at present vacant that will suit, I am advised by my own judgment, as well as by his, to return to the West, and remain there until an opportunity presents itself for my advancement. I shall set out in four days for Kaskaskia, and will not stop in Kentucky at all that I know of. I will be then in time for the fall courts and to meet the Legislature.

Mr. Pinkney is certainly coming home or to London; it is yet uncertain which. Mr. Rush will go out very soon, to London. It is said Clay is not so much the bantling of Mr. Monroe as is supposed; he and Mr. Adams are not in the confidence of each other I know. Your name is frequently mentioned as Secretary of War lately, but how it will be I can't tell. It is believed here that Spain has actually ceded the Floridas to the United States in consideration of a deduction to be made from our claim for spoilations committed on our commerce by Spain. Various circumstances concur in strengthening this opinion. It is believed that Mr. Gallatin is coming home also, but who will succeed him is unknown. Doctor Bibb of Georgia, is appointed Governor of Alabama. The Secretary is not appointed, and it is thought will not be until Congress meets, tho' I think otherwise. Lane, from Kentucky, has

a recommendation for Secretary of Alabama equal to a large volume, and several other members of the last Congress are candidates. Col. Lane is well.

Accept assurances of my highest respect and friendship.

D. P. COOK.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

LETTER OF AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU.*

ST. LOUIS, April the 16th, 1818.

DEAR SIR:—I have lately received your letter of the 8th inst. I accept my new appointment as a commissioner to treat with the Indian nations residing on the other side of the Mississippi river, and as soon as I will have received my commission, I will give immediate notice of it to the Government.

I am much pleased to have you for my colleague, and am fully confident that it is only at your request and in consequence of your opinion of my influence on the mind of the Indians with whom I have had so long and numerous relations, that I am indebted for my appointment. I feel sincerely that although old and infirm I have and will have

* Colonel Auguste Chouteau was one of the earliest settlers of St. Louis, and during nearly all his life was largely engaged in the Indian trade. He had great influence over all the Indian tribes in the Northwest, and was often employed by the Government in negotiating treaties with the Indian tribes. Under the appointment referred to in the letter, in conjunction with Benjamin Stephenson, a treaty was negotiated with the Kickapoos at Edwardsville in June, 1819. A prominent business man, he was ever distinguished for his great integrity and probity of character. He was the brother of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., of St. Louis, one of the most distinguished business men of his time. Auguste Chouteau married a daughter of Pierre Ménard of Kaskaskia.

forever no greater desire than to serve my country. I have not a great confidence in my abilities nor in my power over the Indian nations, but nevertheless, I entertain the flattering hope that by our united endeavours we will attain the end pointed out by our Government.

By your letter I cannot form a just and distinct idea of the boundaries of the tract of land which the Government desires to purchase, and I will have it only when we will confer together about it and by the instructions which we will receive on that subject, nevertheless, I think as yourself, that it will be proper to adopt some preparatory measures, and I certainly shall not neglect any means which I will believe conducive to our success. I am entirely of your opinion, that the discussions and conclusions of a treaty with Indian nations living on the eastern side of the Mississippi must take place in your Territory, and I have no objection that the place of our meeting be at Edwardsville, where I will go as soon as circumstance may require, and even before your return at home, if I was notified by Mr. Mette of the arrival of some Indian chiefs of whom it should be convenient to fortify by speeches and presents the good dispositions, I have given to Mr. Mette particular instructions on the subject and with confidence I rely on his exactitude.

I am also of opinion that the most proper way will be to begin a treaty with the Kaskaskias (or Illinois) nation, and after to make a separate treaty with the Kikapoux, but as I have above said, I will delay to adopt any ideas and a course in our transactions, till I have consulted with you and received communication of our instructions. In

this moment the Indians are yet in their winter excursions, there is nothing to do; but on their return at their respective villages if some of their chiefs pass by St. Louis, Edwardsville, or Kaskaskias, I will use all my influence over them to fortify their good dispositions, nevertheless without making to them any too open or fixed proposals and I will expect your return to that effect.

If by circumstances I was in want of some goods I will apply to Col. Stevenson as you direct me.

I am very sorry that I have not received sooner information of the intention of the Government as about three weeks ago a chief, whose amity and opinion will be important to us, was then at St. Louis.

I am with the greatest consideration and respect of your Excellency. The most obedient servant,

AUG. CHOUTEAU.

To his Ex'y N. EDWARDS,
Governor of the Illinois Territory,
Frankfort, Kent'y.

ST. LOUIS, July the 17, 1818.

SIR:—Having been told that you are come back of your last journey to Kentucky, I send you this express to be certain of it and in the same time to forward to you the inclosed letters which have been particularly recommended to my care. Since your departure I have not had relations whatsoever with the Indian nations of your Territory. I am convinced that my proposals should have been coldly received; Mr. R'd Graham has told me that he is directed to bring to them those annuities to them in the month of

next August. I consider that payment as indispensable before the opening of negotiations, at our first meeting I will explain to you my opinion on that subject. Mr. R'd Graham appears to me an agent who by his zeal and conduct deserves our confidence.

Having been informed by public rumor that Gen. Smith had given orders for the evacuation of Fort Clark, and considering the actual occupation of that post as very important and conducive to the success of our future negotiations, by a letter I have informed the Gen. Smith of my opinion and by his answer he told me that he was sorry to have not been sooner informed of the opinion of the Commissioners, but having that fort evacuated since two or three weeks it was not in his power to change that disposition.

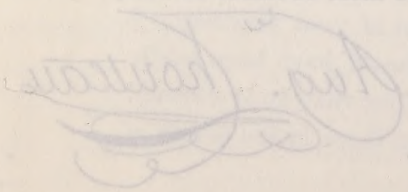
I hope that my last letter of the 17 of last April, and directed to Francfort, is come safely to your hands.

I should be very satisfied if your intention was to come at St. Louis, to have the honor and pleasure to see you and in the same time to communicate with you on the intended negotiations, but if you are detained at Edwardsville, please to let me know when you will think proper that I meet you there and if it will be then necessary that I bring with me an interpreter. I am with the greatest consideration and respect of your Excellency,

The most obedient servant,

Aug. Chouteau

His Excellency
. N. EDWARDS,
Governor and Commissioner, &c.



(Fac-simile Letter of Thomas H. Benton.)

St. Louis, Oct 27th 1818.

We shall look to you to give us all help in the advancement of our territory.

Yours.

Thomas H. Benton.

(Fac-simile Letter of Thomas H. Benton.)

St. Louis, Oct 27th 1818

Dear Sir,

Our mutual friend, Gov. Bissell, wishes to command in this department. Gov. Smith has retired, and if long and faithful services deserve any reward, it would be but just to gratify Gov. Bissell in this wish. Mr. Scott will speak with the Secretary of War, and your voice would doubtless have its weight if joined to his.

We shall wish you to give us all help in the advancement of our territory.

Yours.

Thomas H. Benton.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.

GOLCONDA, August 3rd, 1818.

DEAR GOV'R.—I enclose you a petition which a few have signed for the purpose of getting an appointment for Capt. Dillard.

Benj. W. Patton, Esq., says he knows him well and that he is a man of good character and capacity. I know him myself. He is a clever fellow, I think, and a smart one.

I wish you would send the commission by the next mail after the return of Reynolds to Kaskaskia. I hope you won't forget it.

I shall in this county get a large vote, about one-half, some say more. I made a speech and excited warm opposition from *slavemen*, but still warmer support from *freemen*.

McLean it is said, will beat Bond four to one in Crawford, Edwards, White, and Gallatin. In this county he will get but few votes. McLean will run well.

Yours respectfully,

DAN'L P. COOK.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Kaskaskia.

LETTER OF THOMAS H. BENTON.*

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 27th, 1818.

DEAR SIR:—Our mutual friend, Gen. Bissell, wishes to command in this department. Gen. Smith has retired, and

* This letter of Thomas H. Benton was written to Governor Edwards a few days after he had been elected senator of the United States, in October, 1818. A lithograph is given.

if long and faithful services deserve any reward, it would be but just to gratify Gen. Bissell in this wish. Mr. Scott will speak with the secretary of war, and your voice would doubtless have its weight if joined to his.

We shall wish you to give us all help in the advancement of our territory. Thine,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

LETTER OF SHADRACH BOND.*

KASKASKIA, STATE OF ILLINOIS,

November 24th, 1818.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Pope informs me that you wish a statement of the number of inhabitants of the State as returned to the convention. I have requested Mr. Kane to make the statement and forward it to you with his certificate, tho' I am in hopes you will not need it, that the constitution will be ratified and we get the news by the time the certificate reaches you.

I will now say something on the subject of the law which was passed at the last session of Congress respecting the Registers and Receivers of Public Monies. That law limits their pay to three thousand dollars, and allows the Receivers no more than the Registers, notwithstanding the Receiver has as much or more writing to do than the Register, his accounts more difficult, his reports, particularly those made at the end of every quarter, are more troublesome than any business which the Register has to

* Shadrach Bond was inaugurated governor October 6th, 1818. The letter was written the last of the following month, and before Edwards and Thomas had been admitted as senators from the State of Illinois.

attend to in his office, besides this the Receiver has to be responsible for the cash, and to convey it (at his own expense) to whatever bank the Secretary of the Treasury may direct. This certainly entitles him to one-half per cent more than the Register gets, and which was the difference allowed by the old law. Should anything be done for the Receivers I hope they may be allowed the half per cent on all the monies received from the time the limitation law was passed in April last.

Mr. P. Foulke has been recommended for the place of Marshal of the State. I hope he may get your support.

As soon as you and Judge Thomas get your seats in the Senate and it is known what time you are to hold them, I will thank you to give me the information.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your friend, &c.,

S. BOND.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR BOND TO EDWARDS THOMAS, AND McLEAN.*

KASKASKIA, January 5th, 1819.

GENTLEMEN:—The act of Congress enabling the people of the Illinois Territory to form a State government among other provisions, has provided that all salt springs, &c., within the State shall be granted to the State for the use of the same. The saline near Shawneetown had been previously leased under the authority of the general government, which lease will not be determined until the month of June, 1820.

* This letter, though signed by Bond, is in the handwriting of Elias Kent Kane, who was the first secretary of state for the State of Illinois, and when Bond was governor.

The object at the present is to inquire from you and through you from the President, what measures if any, have been or will be taken to put this State into the possession of the rents arising from that contract of lease, which have accrued since the adoption of the constitution of the State and which will continue to accrue until the termination of the lease. It is desirable that I should be furnished with information upon the subject at an early period as the General Assembly will meet on the third Monday of the present month, that I may lay the same before that body.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. BOND.

The Honorables N. EDWARDS, J. B. THOMAS, and JNO. MCLEAN.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.*

KASKASKIA, January 14, 1819.

DEAR GOV.:—I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance my friend, Greenberry Ridgeley, Esq., of Kentucky. Mr. Ridgely wishes to obtain the appointment of Secretary of the Arkansas Territory, and from a long and intimate acquaintance with him, I take pleasure in the opportunity now afforded to say to you that he is a young

* Governor Edwards drew the short term for senator, which expired March 4, 1819. The election for the long term came on at the 2d session of the same legislature, which convened January 4th, 1819. At the time of writing this letter, on the 14th of that month, Mr. Cook expresses the opinion that Mr. Edwards would be "reappointed" *nem. con.*

gentleman of talents and worth. If you can render him any service in promoting his desires you will confer a meritorious favor on him, and also an act of friendship which I shall highly esteem.

I received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad that friend Phillips is likely to be treated as I wish.

The legislature meets on Monday next, when I think you will be re-appointed to the U. S. Senate nem. con.

Accept assurances of friendship,

D. P. COOK.

KASKASKIA, February 2, 1819.

DEAR GOV.:—I have waited for some time with the hope of being able to inform you of the result of the Senatorial election, but it is yet undetermined. A proposition was made this day to divide the State into two senatorial districts by the meridian line—votes in the H. R., 12 for, 15 against.* Such are the results of the *lawless* projects of competitors to defeat your election. I thought once you would not have competition, but your not declaring yourself to the legislature as a candidate has given foothold to such fellows as Kitchell and Hargrave, than whom

* This letter of Mr. Cook will show that the contests in this State for United States senator, which has ever since been kept up with a great deal of feeling—not to say acrimony—commenced in the first legislature ever held in this State. In his previous letter above published Mr. Cook expressed the opinion that Governor Edwards would have no opposition. It is evident that he was very much mistaken, for in less than three weeks afterward a very serious contest had been developed, and a strong effort made to defeat the governor. There are but few people at this day who are aware of the effort, adverse to the interest of Governor Edwards, which were made in this legislature to divide the State into two senatorial districts. This absurd proposition was defeated in the House by a vote of 12 for and 15 against. Mr. Cook

no men are more ignorant and corrupt. The election is to be held next Monday. I think you will get 26 votes without doubt.

I have been industrious in suppressing those feelings which wickedness has been attempting to excite in the minds of many, and were it not that your friends are ever on the alert, they would triumph.

You believe Gov. Bond to be your friend—I do not. The nest which float around him are all against you. Kane is even supporting the senatorial division of the State. Captains Field and Willcox keep the lower Ohio members right. With them I have been intimate and I believe, have prevented the latter from being duped by Kane. Your hinting and not openly avering your wish has left you almost defenceless.

I have determined again on offering for Congress. I expect the election will take place in April or May.

Hubbard, to whom you have been writing *nothing* in fact, to him however *much*, is your enemy, treacherous and insidious. If they fail in electing, in beating you they may

was very indignant at the means used in the effort to defeat Gov. Edwards. Kitchell and Hargrave, who are alluded to, were members of the State senate; the former from White and the latter from Crawford County. Mr. Cook had some very decided opinions in regard to some of the politicians of that period.

Governor Bond's loyalty to Governor Edwards was questioned, while Kane, his secretary of state was openly against him. Captains Field (Green B.) and Wilcox were members of the house of representatives, the former from Pope and the latter from Johnson County. The Hubbard named as the "treacherous and insidious enemy" of Governor Edwards was Adolphus Frederick Hubbard of Shawneetown, who was elected lieutenant-governor in 1822, the same year that Edward Coles was elected governor; and in 1826 he was one of the candidates for governor against Ninian Edwards.

yet unite for you. It is yet uncertain however, what they may effect.

I have recommended Enoch Moore for Surveyor-General, at his request. I know of no competition.

Your friend,

DAN'L P. COOK.

The Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Washington.

CHAPTER IX.

Letter of Gov. Bond; rental of the salines; election of U. S. senator; Col. Jones a candidate; doubts as to who would be elected; letter of Thomas Cox; announces to Gov. Edwards his election as U. S. senator; Kitchell did "his d——st" to keep him out; objections made to Edwards; Cox a prominent figure in early Illinois politics; a state senator from Union County; removes to Iowa, and commanded the "Regulators" at the "battle of Bellevue", April 1, 1840; member of the Iowa Territorial Legislature and speaker of the House of Representatives; dies at Maquoketa, Iowa, in 1843; letter of John Marshall, president of the Shawneetown Bank; letter of John Caldwell; letter of Daniel P. Cook, when a candidate for Congress against John McLean, in 1819; what Jesse B. Thomas and Col. Michael Jones said; Dr. Alexander says he shall not get a vote in his county; letter of Thomas H. Benton; vote for John Scott for Congress to be major-general; letter of Richard M. Johnson; "Rumpsey, Dumpsey, Col. Johnson killed Tecumseh"; red plush and double-breasted waistcoat: a letter of John Reynolds; the Goshen Settlement; a friend of Daniel S. Cook; "start Stephenson on the chase"; letter of Daniel P. Cook.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR BOND.*

KASKASKIA, February 6th, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—By last mail I received yours of the 24th December; am pleased that you will attend to my claim as receiver, but sorry to hear of the opposition to Capt. Foulke.

* This letter was written during pendancy of the senatorial election, and it certainly could not have been very reassuring to Governor Edwards.

Some time before this letter came to hand I received one of the 27th of the same month on the subject of the metal at the saline. I laid the same before the Legislature; they have come to no resolution on that subject. This day I expect a law to pass authorizing me to enter into a new contract with the lessees. They are now waiting, and I have but a few moments to write. Next Monday is the day fixed by the Legislature to elect a Senator for the 16th Congress. It has been stated by some that you are willing to serve again. Col. Jones is also a candidate. I can not say who will be elected, for there is considerable division amongst the members.

I have taken Jonathan Elliot's paper for some time; it comes so irregular that I will thank you to have it stopped, and pay what I owe him, which I suppose to be for one year. In haste. Your friend, S. BOND.

The Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Washington City.

LETTER OF THOMAS COX.*

KASKASKIA, February 8th, 1819.

SIR:—You are re-elected to the United States Senate

* Thomas Cox was at this time a senator from Union County, and was quite a prominent figure in the early history of the State. He was subsequently appointed register of the United States Land Office at Springfield. He was conspicuous for his advocacy in 1823–4 of the convention resolution, designed to make Illinois a slave State. While in the Land Office, charges of official misconduct were made against him and he was removed. In 1836, he removed to that part of Wisconsin Territory which in June, 1838, was constituted Iowa Territory. He was elected in 1838 a member of the House of Representatives for the first Territorial Legislature of Iowa. He was

for six years, which has completely placed you out of the reach of your enemies. Col. Jones was your opponent. He got 19 votes and you 23. There has been more trickery and intrigue made use of than you have any idea of. I suppose that some of your friends will give you the particulars of what has transpired. If they do not, you will hear it when you come home. I wish that you could see a letter I received from the honorable senator† from this county a few minutes before the election came on yesterday. He protested against me having a seat in the Legislature because I would not vote for Jones, for which I intend to impeach him. Your friend Kitchell has done his D—st to keep you out.

I write you in great haste, mostly to let you know that you were re-elected again. There is a great many of them that appear to die very hard deaths. I wish I was with you one hour, just to give you a history of matters and things. I write in great haste.

Your friend and humble servant,

THOMAS COX.

re-elected in 1839, and became speaker of the House, and was again re-elected in 1840. In April, 1840, he commanded the "Regulators", who, after a pitched battle, drove out a gang of murderers, horse-thieves, counterfeiters, and black-legs who had got the possession of Bellevue, Iowa. He was regarded in Iowa Territory at that early period as an able and popular man, with many excellent qualities, but whose usefulness was impaired by his unfortunate habits. He died at Maquoketa, Iowa, in 1843.

It seems by this letter of Colonel Cox that Governor Edwards was elected senator, he having received twenty-three votes as against nineteen for Michael Jones, who was then a state senator from Gallatin County. Mr. Cook had predicted that Governor Ewards would get twenty-six votes. He was elected, though Kitchell had "done his d——st to keep him out."

† The senator from Randolph County at this time, referred to by Mr. Cox, was John McFerron.

P. S.—The objections to you are these: That you will get all those old land claims, that were rejected by Jones, confirmed; and that you are opposed to the donation of land that the Legislature has petitioned Congress for.*

LETTER OF JOHN MARSHALL.†

SHAWNEETOWN, 25th May, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 20th instant is just handed me by Mr. Kelly, but such is the hurry of my business at the present moment (the Circuit Court being now sitting) that I feel unable to write you as fully on the subject of your letter as I could wish. Your faithful exertions at Washington last winter has procured for the people of Illinois and those particularly in this land district the most essential advantages. The present arrangement giving such general satisfaction to the people I am astonished to think that there can any be found among us so great a foe to the welfare and happiness of our rising State as to envy us those advantages and wish to drive us back into all those difficulties out of which, by means of your exertions we have been so recently extricated. I have some knowledge of the low plodding and cunning of certain characters at Kaskaskia. I saw enough last fall to give me a tolerable idea of some of them, but did not think them capable of a scheme so injurious to the people.

* This must have been a gross misrepresentation, for Gov. Edwards was always most liberal in his support of all donations of public lands.

† John Marshall was the president of the Shawneetown Bank. He was a man of much prominence in his time. He was a member of the first House of Representatives in the Illinois Legislature, but resigned his seat.

The course the receiver at Kaskaskia has lately pursued towards our bank, one day taking our notes and the next day refusing them, thus vexing the holders and thereby trying to impair the credit of our bank, shows their hostility towards us as well as yourselve. The Bank of Missouri, acting in the same way, or rather worse; whenever she thinks proper to take our notes it is with a view alone of making a run for specie, as proof of this I need only mention that she has lately paid us a visit and carried off $12,000 of our specie. The immense deposits made in the Bank of Missouri has given her an undue influence over her neighbors, which she has exercised in the most tyrannical manner; notwithstanding this great display of strength it is thought by many that if the public deposits were withdrawn that her situation would not be better than that of her neighbors. I can assure you the directors of this bank, so far as have came to my knowledge, are disposed to be on the most friendly terms with the Bank of Edwardsville; they had ordered the cashier to receive your notes, but various reports reaching us almost every day of the most unfavourable nature, the directors thought proper to recind that order until they could be informed of the true situation of your bank. I have now little doubt but the order will be renewed for taking them, for my own part, having a personal acquaintance with some of your board, I always believed these reports were a base fabrication, and have uniformly continued to receive and give every facility to the circulation of your notes that a person in my line of business could do.

Your object being to promote the public good you will not, I do hope, despair or suffer yourself to be driven from the stand you have taken by the machinations of a few envious men at Kaskaskia aided by a moneyed institution, grown into importance by means of the public deposits, and still wishing to retain them by destroying everything that stands in the way.

The importance of the advantages that you have secured for our institution and the people in this quarter are duly appreciated and trust our conduct will be such as to merit the confidence you have placed in us. We are sensible of the responsibility you took upon yourself in getting our bank made a place of deposit for the public money and hope the integrity of our institution and the prudent conduct which will govern all our transactions will make you perfectly easy as to the safety of these deposits.

Having experienced the same difficulties in the commencement of our operations which the Bank of Edwardsville is now labouring under we cannot but sympathize and wish you every success against your powerful neighbor as well as domestic enemies, and I think I may assure you that any and everything unfriendly to your institution will be discountenanced in this quarter. I have not now leisure to say more. You may again hear from me. I am am, dear sir, most respectfully,

Your friend and humble serv't,

JNO. MARSHALL.

The Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Edwardsville, Illinois.

LETTER OF JOHN CALDWELL.*

SHAWNEETOWN, 4 June, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—I have the pleasure to inform you that on yesterday the directors of our bank came to the resolution of receiving the notes of the Bank of Edwardsville as well on deposit to the credit of the United States for land sold in this district as in payment of debts due to the institution.

When I wrote to you on the 24th ulto. it was expected this arrangement would have been effected immediately, but finding some of the directors were averse to receiving your notes it was deemed most prudent by your friends to remove gradually the bias that misrepresentations had formed in their minds.

As this arrangement has been entered into on our part from the best of motives it is expected a corresponding disposition will be exercised by your bank towards us; that at stated periods the amount of notes which are held upon each other will be made known, and when opportunities offer of putting out the notes of either at a distance from the bank which emitted them that it will be done, and above all not to hold up the notes of each other with a view to harass or make a run for specie unless dire necessity compels the unpleasant measure. I am with much respect and esteem, Yours sincerely,

JNO. CALDWELL.

The Hon. N. EDWARDS, Edwardsville, Illinois.

* Mr. Caldwell was associated with Mr. Marshall in the Shawneetown Bank at this time.

P. S.—Be pleased to inform Col. Stephenson of the contents of this letter.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.*

EDWARDSVILLE, July 16, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—I have been so engaged I could not get away from this place as soon as I expected. I shall leave here to-morrow. I find there are great exertions making by Governor Bond against me. He is even sending for the old French people to see him, that he may get them to vote against me. Judge Thomas has been here lately and left a report that you and I had a sham quarrel for the purpose of deluding the people in Edwardsville who were opposed to you, and in that way to get them to vote for me. How disgraceful to a Senator is such conduct! He says, "*By God* he will do twenty times as much as he has yet done but what he will defeat me!" The

* This letter was written in the heat of Mr. Cook's contest for Congress against Mr. McLean, in the summer of 1819. Mr. Cook was then fighting a battle almost single-handed and alone against many of the most prominent men in the State: Governor Bond, Elias Kent Kane, Judge Jesse B. Thomas —United States senator—Dr. Alexander of Pope Co., Colonel Michael Jones of Shawneetown—whom Governor Edwards had beaten for United States Senator—and Dr. Fisher. He, however, triumphed over them all.

Michael Jones had been the candidate for United States senator in February, 1819, obtaining in the Legislature nineteen votes against twenty-three for Governor Edwards. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth; came into Illinois Territory at an early day; and was register of the Land Office at Kaskaskia in 1809. He is represented by Governor Reynolds as having been "a sprightly man of plausible and pleasing address," and well qualified for business if he had been "clear of excitement." "His mind was above the ordinary range, but his passion swept over it at times like a tornado." He removed from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, and was a member of the Senate from Gallatin County at the first session of the Illinois Legislature. He was a bitter opponent of Governor Edwards.

French people will all vote for me unless they are changed.

I am told Doctor Alexander says I shall not get a vote in his county, and that there will be strong opposition in Union. Col. Jones has proclaimed in a drunken frolic that since I have "tied" myself to you that, by God, we shall both fall together, and that you shall see you are weak before the people, altho' you succeeded before the Legislature.

The Governor refuses to appoint a judge until after the election, for the purpose, it is said, of keeping as many friends to McLean as possible.

They boast here that I will get no votes in Alton, that Judge Thomas has set all things right at that place. May not some good yet be done there by a little trouble?

I cannot hear one word from the east side of the State. I know not how they are going on. I can only hear that they are making great noise about the election.

Ca'n't you get Winchester to go to the Sangamo Township; and do, for God's sake, try to get Major Whiteside to spur up Major St. Clair at Alton. I believe it will require some exertions to succeed against these jugglers. They have been trying to take Matheny from me by offering an office; they may have succeeded, I cannot tell. Mr. Pope is all alive on the subject, since they avow a determination to break down the party, as they call it, and prove its feebleness before the people. It looks like giving a challenge. They have swindled me out of the support of Doctor Fisher. You may judge by this of their exertions.

For God's sake get our warm friends rallied. The day may be ours, with industry, not else.

Your friend, DAN'L. P. COOK.

Hon. N. EDWARDS, Edwardsville, Illinois.

LETTER OF THOMAS H. BENTON.*

ST. LOUIS, July 26th, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—The declaration on the part of Mr. Paul shows the partnership, and does not show a settlement of accounts and a balance struck. Of consequence upon the face of his own pleading he has no cause of action. A demurrer has therefore become necessary; which we can use safely, as on account of the great liberality of the courts in allowing them to be withdrawn, the pleas to the merits, and those which are intended to show the fairness of your conduct, and to which they will of course demur, can be immediately put in. The cause therefore stands at present upon demurrer. Shall we not have the pleasure to see you in the course of the event, and at all events, before you return? The election goes well here. Mr. Scott's vote will be very general. At Boons-lick, 4th July, they adopted unanimously in an assembly of 200 or 300 persons a resolution of approbation, and of *support*. Hammond, I think, will not only lose what he *seeks*, but also what he *has*. I am, dear sir, yours respectfully,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

NINIAN EDWARDS, ESQ., Edwardsville.

* John Scott of St. Genivieve was elected as a delegate to Congress this year, and the next year, Missouri Territory having been admitted into the Union as a state, he was elected the first representative to Congress.

LETTER OF RICHARD M. JOHNSON.*

GREAT CROSSINGS, 31st July, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—I enclose to you the reply to my communication to Mr. Crawford as to the subject of your letter to me as to his friendly disposition. I have rec'd an intimation in a letter from my brother that Gen. Payne has forfeited his stock as he did not pay the 2d instalment. Has the 2d instalment been generally paid *bona fide* and not borrowed out of the bank before nor since? Has any man paid $12,500 in and no loan upon it, &c., &c.

I wish to hear from you on this subject. I can not, I will not believe that the directors will permit such a thing. I rely upon your justice and your friendship, I rely upon their justice and the past which has been acted by us here in relation to the Edwardsville Bank.

Please write me and do not permit such a thing as a

* Richard M. Johnson had served both as a representative and senator in Congress from the State of Kentucky, and was elected vice-president in 1836 on the ticket with Martin VanBuren. He distinguished himself in the War of 1812 on the Canadian frontier, and, as it was claimed, that in a hand-to-hand combat he had killed the Indian war-chief Tecumseh, and the couplet ran:

"Rumsey, Dumpsey,
Col. Johnson killed Tecumseh."

He was vice-president and presiding officer of the Senate when I first visited Washington, in March, 1840. He wore a red plush, double-breasted waistcoat, presided in a kindly off-hand way, and was universally popular. In 1840, he again ran on the ticket for vice-president with Mr. VanBuren; but was buried by the political tornado which that year swept over the country, and which carried "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," into power. A lithograph of the letter is given.

prendre the Liberty upon the present occasion
to grant which has been actuated by views
here in relation to the Edwardsville

Edwardsville
Illinois

I never can be reconciled a forfeiture of the
Stock of my friends under the Circumstances

prudent to rely upon the just and
the least which has been asked of us
here in relation to Mr Edwards's
Bill. Please write me if I do not
for I cant such a thing as a forfeiture
you may rely upon it such a
System will never do.

With sincere yours
in friendship

R. M. Johnson

Gov
Simeon Edwards

Edwardsville

Illinois

I never can recommend a forfeiture of the
Stock of my friend under the circumstances

forfeiture; you may rely upon it such a system will never do. With sincerity, yours in friendship,

RH. M. JOHNSON.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Edwardsville, Illinois.

I never can be reconciled to a forfeiture of the stock of my friend under the circumstances.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS.

GOSHEN,* 19 July, 1820.

DEAR SIR:—I have returned from Greene County, and found matters and things right there. Cook, with the exception of Lofton's settlement, will get all the votes. I think he will get three-fourths of the county. McLean has turned Cummins. Caldwell, I understand, is for Cook. My brother Thomas states that Maxwell, James Morrison, old Robert and their dependants are working against Cook. Philips is the cause of this. My brother says that Browne, on the Ohio, was McLean's friend, and the people there is considerably for McLean. I thought it would not be amiss to inform you of the above.

Jones, you see, is out. I promised him your support, as you said. Now allow me to request you to start Stephenson in the chase. Winchester promised me; so did some in the old town. Judy and all my friends are on the charge for Jones.

* The Goshen settlement was in what is now Madison County, and here the father of Mr. Reynolds settled in 1807. John Reynolds was then a friend to Mr. Cook, who was then making his canvass for Congress against McLean.

Do not forget to impress Hays with the necessity of staying in Cahokia at the election. Snyder will try to turn the French for McLean. This must not be neglected.

Col. John W. Scott's brother, Alexander, wants to get the mail to carry from Edwardsville to Carrollton. I promised to mention the thing to you. If there is no applicant or bidder he could do the business.

I am, your friend,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS, Edwardsville.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.

EDWARDSVILLE, Sept. 26, 1820.

In all cases where the happiness of parents is so much identified with that of their children as I conceive yours and Mrs. Edwards' to be, I hold it to be the duty of every gentleman before he makes an effort to obtain the affection of any one of them to consult and know the feelings of such parents; and wishing, as I do, to communicate views of that kind to your daughter Julia, I therefore desire to be informed whether it will meet the approbation of you and Mrs. Edwards or not.

On all occasions I should think this a proper course, but then more so in this particular case, because I am proposing to interfere in the domestic relations of those who have been my friends on all occasions.

In wishing thus to create a new relationship between us, I am not acting under the influence of feelings hastily awakened, but in conformity to those which my acquaint-

ance with your daughter almost from her infancy has long since produced. Whether she entertains correspondent feelings or not I have yet to ascertain, and in doing it I wish to tread on peaceful ground—I wish to know that no parental sensibility will be wounded.

In making this communication, I hope I shall not, by any answer which your respective feelings to your daughter may dictate, jeopardize that friendship which I have had so many evidences of your entertaining towards me.

My desire to know your views connected with the necessity of my early departure from this place, I hope, will afford a proper apology for asking as early an answer as may be convenient. With the highest regard, I have the honor to be Your friend, &c.,

DAN'L P. COOK.

Hon. N. EDWARDS, present.

CHAPTER X.

Letter of Ninian Edwards when U. S. senator to President Monroe; protests against the appointment of Foulke for one of the land-offices at Palestine; calls attention of the president to his recommendation for office; Gen. Smith recommended; correspondence between Senators Edwards and Thomas in regard to action of the Senate on the nomination of Edward Humphrey as land-officer at Kaskaskia: letter of Ninian Edwards to Wm. H. Crawford, in relation to Mr. Humphrey; letter of Rufus King, U. S. senator from New York; Mr. King one of the ablest statesmen this country ever produced; born in Scarboro', in the province of Maine; the greatest man ever born in Maine; Sir William Pepperell placed next after him; George Evans intellectually the equal, or superior, of either of them; Col. Benton's description of Rufus King; note verbale of Mr. Crawford; letter of Ninian Edwards to Mr. Crawford, touching recommendations to office by senators; frank and able expressions of his views; letter of William Wirt on the same subject; speaks with the authority of a great lawyer and statesman; the encroachments of the Senate on executive authority; senators now forming syndicates to coerce the president in matter of appointments; the intimate personal relations between Wirt and Edwards; the letters of Mr. Wirt to Benjamin and Ninian Edwards; the charming character of William Wirt; letter-writing now a lost art; letter of Thomas Reynolds, Junior; wants Edwards to run for governor; Reynolds removes to Missouri, and elected governor of that State in 1840.

LETTER OF SENATOR EDWARDS TO PRESIDENT MONROE.*

Dec. 22d, 1820.

SIR:—About the close of the last session of Congress

* At this time there were no distinctive national political parties, but the

Gen. Guy W. Smith and Mr. Philip Foulke were nominated to the Senate U. S., the one for the appointment of Receiver, and the other for that of Register of the land office at Palestine, in Illinois, which in consequence of objections made by myself to Mr. Foulke's appointment, were not then acted upon, and are not now considered within the power of the Senate, as I am informed by the

politics of the State were altogether personal. No sooner had the two senators—Governor Edwards and Judge Thomas—taken their seats than a squabble began, concerning the government offices in the new State. Thomas appears to have been the most *habile* politician of the two, and seems to have gotten the best of it in the distribution of the patronage It is evident that President Monroe was inclined to favor Thomas. This letter of Governor Edwards can not but be interesting, as illustrating the situation at the time it was written.

The General Guy W. Smith whom Governor Edwards sought to have appointed as one of the land officers at Palestine, was a member of the State senate from Edwards County, in the first legislature, and was undoubtedly a strong supporter of Governor Edwards. The question as to how far the recommendations of senators should control the nominations for offices in their own states was raised at an early day. When four men were to be appointed to the two new land offices in the State, created in 1821, Governor Edwards proposed to Mr. Crawford that he should be allowed to select two of them, and Judge Thomas, his colleague, the other two. Mr. Crawford—who was then the secretary of the treasury—wrote to Governor Edwards "that the proposition was deemed by the President inadmissable, as it would, in fact, be a transfer of the right of nomination vested by the Constitution in the President to the Senators of the State."

In his reply to Mr. Crawford, Governor Edwards disclaimed any intention of interfering with any prerogative of the President, and said, "I did not doubt that the distribution which I proposed could be made without any violation or surrender of power on the part of the President, while it was the best calculated to give general satisfaction."

This subject seems to have been made a subject of correspondence between Governor Edwards and William Wirt, when the latter was attorney-general in the cabinet of Mr. Monroe. Mr. Wirt in a letter to Mr. Edwards, dated January 11th, 1821, says: "I am very sure that the President has the most sincere regard for you. I do not understand, however, that he feels himself *bound* by the recommendations of the senators of the state in which the office

President thereof. Of course, I presume it will be necessary to nominate the same, or other gentlemen for those appointments, and though many personal considerations would incline me to abstain from any interference whatever in those cases, yet, believing that such a course would, under existing circumstances, be considered by those whom I have the honor to represent, as a dereliction of the duties imposed upon me by my present station, I feel com-

is to be filled, even when the senators concur. In such a case he has great respect to their opinion, but he considers himself at perfect liberty to put a different character in nomination, without giving just cause of offence to them. The constitutional act of nominating is *his;* he ought to be free, therefore, to nominate whom he pleases. Were he *bound* even by the joint recommendation of the senators, the nomination would cease to be the act of the President—it would be that of the senators; while by the Constitution, the responsibility would still rest with the President. You can not but admit the correctness of this view of the subject; and I am told that the practice of the senators is in strict conformity with it; they wait till the President calls on them to express their opinion, and retire respectfully from any further interference with the nomination, but with full liberty to exercise their rights, in turn, as senators when the nomination is sent in, and they have to vote on its confirmation. The President asks no sacrifice of the rights of senators in opposing and rejecting his nominations, and why should they seek to narrow his freedom in making his nominations? * * * There is indeed another course which he may take, and which I think he ought to take, which is to nominate no person whom either senator declares unworthy of the office, if he can find a deserving man in the State, free from such objection—unless, indeed, the objection itself is destroyed by being discovered to proceed from a personal feeling or weakened by flowing from the animosity of local factions."

This letter of Mr. Wirt's—with the authority of a great statesman and lawyer—lays down the true principle in the matter. Such an authoritative exposition can not but be read with great interest at this day, when the people realize that the Senate of the United States has been for a series of years virtually seeking to change the Constitution by encroachments upon the executive authority. Syndicates of senators are now formed, the object of which is to reject every nomination made by the president of persons not recommended to him by the senators of the particular State where the offices are located.

pelled (most reluctantly however) to address you upon the subject.

In cases which it has been in my power to control, and in which it might fairly be presumed my personal wishes were the strongest, I trust I have given you some proof of an unwillingness on my part, to create any difficulties in relation to appointments, and were the present a case of this description I should most certainly pursue the same course, but as a representative of the State of Illinois I do not feel at liberty to yield to considerations that would govern me as a private individual, and therefore I beg leave to submit to you some reasons why I think Mr. Foulke ought not to be appointed.

It appears to me to be a correct principle, and one which is also sanctioned by general practice, that federal as well as other appointments in any State should be made with some reference to the different sections thereof, and that justice as well as good policy requires, if not something like a reasonable distribution of such offices, at least that they should not be conferred exclusively upon one particular part of a State without some strong reasons, or apparent necessity for it. A total disregard of these considerations cannot fail to excite unpleasant jealousies, and to prevent that general satisfaction which I am sure, next to a faithful discharge of your duties, is the first object of your wishes. In this view of the subject, nothing of the kind could be more objectionable than the appointment of Mr. Foulke to the land office in Palestine, for he is an inhabitant of the village of Kaskaskia in the western part of the State, which has had every federal

appointment that has at any time been confered upon the citizens of Illinois, except the appointments of Mr. Hardin, Mr. McLean, and Mr. Ewing, all of Shawnee Town, on the southern side of the State. The eastern part in which is the land district of Palestine, containing a numerous, respectable, and intelligent population, has never had any federal appointment whatever, and therefore if there are citizens on that side of the State in every respect as meritorious, and well qualified for those offices, it appears to me that they ought to be prefered to citizens of the western side, already favored greatly beyond their due proportion, nor have I ever met with any man in the State who has advocated a different opinion, and permit me to assure you that there are gentlemen residing in the Palestine land district, willing to accept of the office, of unquestionable integrity, and very superior qualifications to those of Mr. Foulke; and that the appointment of the latter would be at least regretted by all, or nearly every man on the eastern side of the State; and I greatly mistake, if I hazard anything in saying that no gentleman of any respectable standing who is a citizen of Illinois will contradict either of those statements in writing as I make them to you, or openly contend that, that office ought to be confered upon Mr. Foulke. Indeed the dissatisfaction manifested in the State on account of his former nomination has been such, that the whole responsibility of that measure has been thrown upon yourself, of which I have the proof; and it is thought the more extraordinary since while you had no knowledge of the man yourself and his appointment was opposed by the representative from the

State as well as myself, the other Senator did not, and would not take upon himself the responsibility of requesting, or recommending it, of which however I was but lately apprised.

As to the recommendations of Mr. Foulke, if my ears did not deceive me when I heard them read, or my memory does not now deceive me, they are predicated upon the fidelity, and ability with which he discharged the duties of the office of Marshal while he held it, and yet my colleague who was a judge of the Superior Court, can, I presume, inform you, that if there were a single suit, not more than one was ever commenced in the court with which the Marshal had any kind of connection, so that you must see how deceptive it is to predicate his claims upon so slight a foundation; having had nothing to do, or nothing of the least consequence, he might have done no harm, but to pretend that he had given proofs of his fidelity, ability, &c., in that office under such circumstances you must think is truly extraordinary. Many however knowing nothing about it, and having heard no complaint against him, were induced to credit the statement, and too easily suffered themselves to be persuaded to sign his recommendation, but they did not suppose that their recommendation of him as marshal would ever have been used in his favor for a land office appointment, or few of them, if any, would have signed it. I well know that none are more opposed to his appointment than some who did sign it.

And I beg leave to state to you *on the character of a Senator of Illinois*, and *upon the veracity and honor of a*

gentleman, that I do positively know he is utterly unqualified to discharge the duties of a land office appointment, being perfectly willing to take upon myself all the responsibility of so positive a statement.

If this is not sufficient, I can refer you to the War Department, and to disinterested members of Congress who can satisfy you that he is *unworthy* of the appointment. I wish not be more particular unless it is desired, because I hope it is unnecessary, and I presume with such an intimation you would not be willing to confide the public interest to this man without satisfying yourself of the correctness of my suggestion, when the means of doing so, are so convenient.

Were I not to make those representations to you I should fail to perform a duty that is expected of me, and which I owe to a very respectable portion of the State of which I am a representative. Let me not however be misunderstood, these statements are not made as a claim for the appointment of any one, nor are they by any means designed to question your course of appointing whom you please, but they are respectfully submitted to you, in the painful discharge of a duty, for just such consideration as you may think it proper to bestow upon them.

I have no particular favorite for whom I wish to procure the appointment, and if I had, I should forbear to press his claims from any personal considerations. All that I wish is that some man worthy of the confidence of the Government may be appointed in the eastern part of the State, who may be most acceptable to the people thereof.

and barely refering to my letter upon the subject addressed to you during the last session of Congress I beg leave to invite your attention to the recommendations which I shall transmit to the Hon. Sec. of the Treasury in favor of two other gentlemen, both of whom are well supported, and I believe most deservedly so, without any reference to parties in Illinois.

As to Gen. Smith's nomination, no objection whatever was made to it; none can be made, for the respectability of his character puts opposition at defiance, and permit me most respectfully to express a hope that my support of him may not be permitted to operate to his disadvantage; his is the only nomination to a land office appointment out of the last seven that have been made in Illinois which the representative of the State and myself together are to have the credit of having been able to procure, for the most extraordinary efforts are making to show that the appointment of Col. Cox was procured through the influence of my colleague although you know to the contrary. I however freely acknowledge myself defeated in five-sevenths of those nominations, in a majority of which I yielded with cheerfulness, not wishing, as I know you have good reason to believe, that the administration should seem to identify itself with the parties of Illinois, nor is it a source of the least uneasiness to me that five of those gentlemen are of the party opposed to me, further than as it imposes upon me the necessity of vindicating myself, which I am always ready to do, against the imputation of having deservedly forfeited the confidence that is usually

reposed in, and the respect that is usually paid to, the recommendations of a member of Congress for appointments in his own State.

It can not but be a matter of surprise to the people of Illinois, and of unfavorable inference to myself, as well as to the representative of the State, to find such an extraordinary proportion of appointments given to a minority in the State, in opposition to the wishes of an overwhelming majority who have been uniformly, undeviatingly, ardently, and openly your personal and political friends and supporters.

Of all those cases, that of Gen. Smith is the most difficult for the people of Illinois to account for. A gentleman of one of the most respectable families in Kentucky, well educated, of excellent talents, unimpeachable integrity, possessing in an eminent degree the confidence of all his acquaintances, highly distinguished by the partiality of his fellow citizens, holding one of the first offices in the militia, and a seat in the Senate by their choice, and having but recently been honored with the confidence of the legislature, by having been selected by it, for an important agency on behalf of the State, it was thought that no man could have been brought forward for one of the land office appointments under more favorable auspices. He wished one of the appointments at Vandalia, but it not being practicable to obtain that one for him, he was recommended by the representative of Illinois, and myself for one of the appointments at Palestine. No objection whatever was made to him by my colleague, and he had

the good fortune to be nominated by you. The office, however, for which he had been a candidate soon afterwards became vacant, and I again recommended him for that vacancy, not supposing (as you had so lately nominated him for a similar office) that any additional support was necessary. Under all these circumstances it was a matter of surprise that a young gentleman, certainly not more meritorious, recently settled in the State, with whom you had no personal acquaintance, and unsupported by any representative of the State (for my colleague disavows having recommended either him or Mr. Humphrey) should have been prefered to Gen. Smith, and the inference, which I cannot prevent at home, is that the former must have been recommended by some person in whom you had more confidence than in me; or that my support of the latter operated to his disadvantage. That it should have been so *justly*, I owe it to myself to refute, and I am not the less inclined to do so, from being *taunted* with Mr. E.'s having been recommended by "*my friend, Gen. Jackson*," a name of bad omen *in some places*, even for as humble an individual as I am.

These circumstances are not mentioned in a spirit of complaint, but merely to account for the expression of my hope that Gen. Smith whose case is again about to present itself, may not be prejudiced by my support of him. This alone is the reason why I have adverted to those circumstances on the present occasion.

If, sir, any thing herein contained can by any means be construed into a want of the most profound respect for

you, or the high station which you so deservedly fill, I beg leave to disclaim every such intention.

Very respectfully,

Y'r ob't serv't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

To Hon. JAMES MONROE,

President of the United States.

LETTER OF N. EDWARDS TO JESSE B. THOMAS.*

Dec. 30, 1820.

DEAR SIR:—I had the honor to receive your note of yesterday apprizing me "of your intention to call up for consideration the nomination of Edward Humphrey as Receiver of public moneys at Kaskaskia on Tuesday next," and as I shall not then be ready to act upon it, I would be gratified if you would agree to let the subject rest until Tuesday week, to which day, if you do call it up, I shall be obliged to move for its postponement, and as no possible inconvenience can result from so short a delay I hope your consent will save the necessity of troubling the Senate upon the subject. Very respectfully, &c.,

N. EDWARDS.

* It appears that at this time a controversy arose between the two senators in relation to the confirmation of the nomination of Edward Humphrey as receiver of public moneys at Kaskaskia. Humphrey was an early settler of Illinois, who had commenced life in the Territory of Illinois in 1805 as a school-teacher in the American Bottom; was a member of the house of representatives in the first state legislature. His nomination to the land-office was recommended by Thomas, but opposed by Edwards. He was, however, confirmed by the Senate.

Dec 30. 1820

Dr Sir

[illegible] to move for its postponement - and as no possible inconvenience can result from so short a delay. I hope you consent will save the necessity of troubling the House upon the subject -

I am respectfully Sir

Your obt Servt

J Edwards

Dec 30. 1820

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Very respectfully &c

J Edwards

LETTER OF JESSE B. THOMAS.*

Dec. 31, 1820.

DEAR SIR:—In reply to your note of yesterday, which I this moment rec'd, and to which you request an answer, I have the honor to state that I cannot consent to the further postponement of Edward Humphrey's nomination, nor did I suppose from the conversation we last had upon this subject that you would have made a proposition again to postpone a nomination so repeatedly laid over on your account, and which has been so long pending in the Senate. In the conversation to which I refer, I spoke of taking up the business last week, but was induced to let it lie on you requesting that it should not be acted on till Tuesday or Wednesday of this week.

It is still my intention to call up the nomination on Tuesday next. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, sir, your most ob't serv't,

JESSE B. THOMAS.

The Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Of the Senate, U. States.

LETTER OF NINIAN EDWARDS TO WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD, SECRETARY OF TREASURY.*

Jan. 1, 1821.

SIR:—Business that will probably be before the Senate

* This letter of Judge Thomas to Governor Edwards was in reply to the one published above from Edwards, touching the nomination of Edward Humphrey. Lithographs of both of these letters are given, as being from the first two senators of the State.

* This letter was written at the time when the nominations of Michael Jones for the land-office at Kaskaskia were before the Senate.

U. S. to-morrow renders me desirous to ascertain the date of Michael Jones' commission as Register of the land office for the Kaskaskia land district; the date of Edward Humphrey's commission as Receiver of public moneys of the same district; whether Mr. Humphrey has given security, and if so, who they are.

I also wish to obtain a copy of the letter I addressed to the President of U. S. at the last session of Congress in which I proposed that Mr. Thomas should be gratified with the appointment of two out of the four land office appointments then about to be made, &c., &c.

If you would have the goodness to have the information and the copy of the letter above mentioned transmitted to me I should be much obliged.

I am very respectfully, sir, y'r mo. ob'd't serv't,

N. EDWARDS.

Hon. W. H. CRAWFORD,
Secretary of the Treasury.

LETTER OF RUFUS KING.*

CRAWFORD'S, Jan. 1, 1821.

DEAR SIR:—I have read with much attention, and no small interest, the copy of the letter which you sent to me for perusal; it cannot be ill received, and may lead to salutory reflections. I cannot suppose that any thing un-

* This letter of Rufus King was written when he was United States senator from the State of New York. It was undoubtedly in reference to subjects which have been referred to in previous letters as herein printed. Mr. King was one of the ablest men and most distinguished statesman that this country ever produced. He was born in Scarborough, in the province of Maine, about

In respect to the nominations of the last Session
I am doubtful whether Mr Gaillard's opinion be correct.
If my memory serves me right. Mr J Q Adams
and with much Respect
am Dear Sir
Yr mo. ob hvt
Rufus King

In respect to the nominations of the last session
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If my memory serves me right. Mr J Q Adams
was nominated Envoy to Russia, the Senate passed a Resolution
that they did not think a mission to Russia expedient;
and at the next session, without a new nomination, advised
& consented to the appointment of Mr Adams, who was
accordingly, & proceeded to St. Petersburgh — that
the Journals will shew what has been the usage of
the Senate in these Cases —

I send you herewith according to your
request, the Papers which were ~~entered for my perusal~~

and with much Respect
am Dear Sir
Yr mo. ob hvt.
Rufus King

fair, or illiberal has been countenanced, or intended, in this quarter. Your conjectures of the real mover is very possibly correct. I well recollect the opinion of Mr. Scott and the information of Mr. Morrison; and without these, the affidavit lodged in the war office, if correct, leaves no doubt respecting the character of the person referred to.

In respect to the nominations of the last session, I am doubtful whether Mr. Gaillard's opinion be correct.

If my memory serves me well, Mr. J. Q. Adams was

the middle of the eighteenth century, and removed to New-York City in 1778. He served several times as United States senator from the State of New York, and represented the country twice at the court of St. James. He was first appointed by Washington in 1789, and afterward by John Quincy Adams in 1825. He had two half-brothers, Cyrus and William King, eminent and distinguished men, both born in Scarboro'. Cyrus King represented Massachusetts twice in the lower house of Congress before the District of Maine was set off and made a separate state. He was an able lawyer and resided at Saco, Maine. William King was a merchant at Bath, Maine, and was the first governor of the State of Maine after the separation from Massachusetts. Richard King, the father of Rufus, Cyrus, and William King, married for his first wife a Miss Bragdon of York, Maine, who was the mother of Rufus King. The grandfather of Henry W. Longfellow, the poet, married the sister of Richard King's wife and was cousin-german to Rufus King, a fact now known to but few people. The house in Scarboro' where these distinguished men were born has long since rotted down, and nothing but the cellar and a part of a chimney now mark the spot where it stood. Neither stone nor slab marks the last resting-place of Richard King, the father of three of the ablest and most prominent men of their time. Rufus King was the greatest man ever born in my native State of Maine. After him I place Sir William Pepperell, but coming down to a later period, George Evans stood out intellectually the equal, if not the superior, of either of them. All of the Kings belonged to the old federal party. Mr. Gaillard, whose opinion is spoken of, was a senator from South Carolina, and president *pro tempore* of the Senate. A lithograph of Mr. King's letter is given.

This is the description given of this eminent man by Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View": "He was a high model of courtly refinement. He was attired in the Senate in full dress; short, small clothes, with stockings and shoes; and was habitually observant of all the courtesies of life."

nominated Envoy to Russia; the Senate passed a resolution that they did not think a mission to Russia expedient, and at the next session, without a new nomination, advised and consented to the appointment of Mr. Adams, who was commissioned, and proceeded to St. Petersburgh; but the journals will show what has been the usages of the Senate in these cases.

I send you herewith, according to your request, the papers which were enclosed for my perusal, and with much respect, am, dear sir,

Y'r mo. ob. serv't,

RUFUS KING.

Hon. N. EDWARDS.

NOTE VERBALE OF MR. CRAWFORD.*

Jan. 2, 1821.

W. H. Crawford presents his respects to Governor Edwards and has the honor to state that the letter to the President, to which he refers, is not found in this office, and is presumed to be in the possession of the President. That Michael Jones was appointed on the 9th of April, 1804. That Edward Humphrey was appointed on the 26th of October, 1820.

The Commissioner of the Gen'l. L. Office certifies that Pierre Ménard, Michael Jones, Shadrach Bond, and Elias K. Kane are his securities, and that Judge Pope has certified they are good for four times the amount of the penalty, which is $15,000.

* This *note verbale* is in Mr. Crawford's own handwriting.

The papers relative to the case of Wilkins, Morrison and others, will be furnished as soon as the press of business now on hand is disposed of.

LETTER OF SENATOR EDWARDS TO WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.*

11 January, 1821.

SIR:—On yesterday I had the honor to receive the copies of papers in relation to the lease of the U. S. Saline to Taylor, Wilkins & Co., which you were good enough to inclose to to me, and also your letter of the 10 inst.

Of the former, it was not my intention to have given you the trouble to send more than a copy of my letter to Col. Morrison (which I thought I might with propriety ask for in consequence of having inclosed it to you with a request that it should be returned) and a copy of the affidavit of Mr. Street, of which, however, I had received no information except what I got from yourself last spring.

I am very sorry that my letter to yourself has been mislaid, because I wanted it for a purpose directly opposite to that which you seem to suppose, and I am persuaded that with the explanations which were given in connection with the proposition referred to, it cannot be supposed that I wished "a transfer of the right of nomination, vested by

* This letter of Mr. Edwards to William H. Crawford, who was then secretary of the treasury, appertains to the controversy growing out of nominations for office in Illinois, and completely dissipates the idea that the senator had any purpose of intrenching upon the prerogatives of the president when he made his recommendations for office. Yet it will be seen that the discussion of the matter had excited much feeling on the part of Mr. Edwards.

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the constitution in the President, to the Senators of the State."

If I recollect right, I called upon you and suggested the proposition as one that I thought calculated to give satisfaction, and I did believe from our conversation that you thought favorably of it, limited, however, by a just regard to the right of nomination vested in the President, which no one was more disposed to respect than myself, as was clearly to be inferred from my remarks, for upon your suggestion, such limitation so far from intimating a wish that the right of the President should be surrendered to the Senators, I expressly declared that I did not wish any one in relation to any recommendations of mine, to relinquish the right of making objections to any nomination, and that I would not myself relinquish any such right in relation to nominations made upon the recommendations of others. It was well understood, however, that two parties existed in Illinois. I presumed that the administration did not wish to identify itself with either, and knowing that unobjectionable and suitable characters could be selected from both sides for the offices in question, I did not doubt that the distribution which I proposed could be made without any violation of duty, or surrender of power on the part of the President, while it was the best calculated to allay jealousies and to give that general satisfaction which, next to a conscientious and independent discharge of his duties the history of his life proves has been and I am convinced still is the first object of his wishes. I had no doubt of his disposition to pursue such a course as far as he thought he could do it with propriety,

and the object of my letter was not any limitation upon, or transfer of his power, but it was intended as a proposition to my colleague for a voluntary and reciprocal limitation upon our respective rights of asking, or contending for more than an equal and just distribution of appointments among the citizens of our State, which if it had been agreed to was calculated *practically*, to save the President much trouble, and some embarrassment.

It was after conversing with you upon the subject that I addressed to you the letter referred to, and I was informed by the gentleman who delivered it that you spoke of my proposition as fair and reasonable. That it depended upon the assent of my colleague, and was intended if agreed to by him as a rule for ourselves, is further more clearly to be inferred from the circumstance of your waiting for his answer upon the subject at the capital, which you will doubtless recollect that you yourself communicated to the representative and myself in order to enable us to regulate our conduct accordingly, and you were obliging enough to wait some time for our recommendations.

So far from intending to propose that the President should "transfer the right of nomination to the Senators of the State," I never intended to propose that he should confine his nominations exclusively to their separate or united recommendations.

But declaring explicitly in my letter to you "that I would scorn to embarrass the President in the least with any application for myself or any relative whatever." I suggested "that I felt myself in duty and in honor

bound, with all due respect to put in a claim on behalf of the State only, to that consideration that was due to one of its representatives," and I was anxious to evince to the President that in no other character did I seek anything, and that in that one I was disposed to be content with a bare equality in that confidence which he usually reposed in, and that respect which he usually paid to the recommendations of members of Congress for appointments in their own States. I conscientiously believed that policy as well as justice required such a distribution as I suggested, and my conduct in that respect while Gov. of the Territory is a sufficient pledge that had the distribution been left to me exclusively my opponents would have had no cause to complain.

My object was to ask for nothing more than was fair and just, and to give the President as little trouble and difficulty as possible, and I feel a proud consciousness that I have never asked him any thing which would have been improper in him to grant, or in me to ask. Nor can the particular ground of my objection to a recent nomination be considered as imparting any blame to him since I have explicitly declared, as I do verily believe, that if he had known the facts which I have stated to the Senate he would not have conferred the recess appointment upon Mr. Humphrey, whose conduct presents a fair parallel to that of the Postmaster in Delaware, about whose case I heard but one opinion expressed last winter.

The cause of my writing for a copy of my letter to you was a desire to correct an impression which I found to prevail, and which I conceive to be erroneous.

I beg leave to request that this letter may be submitted to the inspection of the President, upon whose mind I have reason to believe erroneous impressions have been made in relation to my opposition to the recent nomination above referred to. Y'rs, N. EDWARDS.

To WM. H. CRAWFORD.

LETTER OF WILLIAM WIRT.*

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Your letter of yesterday's date was handed in, last night, and I read it with the most intense interest. (I am inexpressibly distressed by the

* William Wirt was the attorney-general of the United States during both terms of Mr. Monroe's administration, and the one term of the administration of John Quincy Adams. Mr. Wirt was a little more than two years older than Mr. Edwards, but they practically commenced life together when they were boys, in Montgomery County, Maryland. Mr. Wirt had been the tutor of Mr. Edwards in the family of his father, Hon. Benjamin Edwards, who had been a representative in Congress from Maryland in 1795. During this term of service, of twenty months, relations of friendship were entered into by the family and Mr. Wirt, which ever after existed "without change or shadow of turning." The friendship between young Edwards and young Wirt was that of the most devoted brothers, while for the elder Edwards, Mr. Wirt's deep affection for him continued until he died, in Todd County, Kentucky, November 13th, 1826.

Hon. Ninian Wirt Edwards, in his "History of Illinois and Life of Ninian Edwards", publishes many letters addressed by Mr. Wirt to his grandfather, Benjamin Edwards, and his father, Ninian Edwards. These letters constitute an epistolary correspondence which must excite the deepest admiration of every one that reads it. Here Mr. Wirt shows what he really was—one of the most charming, one of the most delightful and interesting men that ever lived. When we read these letters, in those days of long distances and slow and irregular mails, as compared with the hurly-burly of the present time, when letters are transported so rapidly by railroad and with information transmitted by telegraph, who will not now say that the art of letter-writing is a lost art.

occurrences to which you allude and the pain they give you. But this is unavailing. What can I do?) You may remember that when I saw you at the capitol (the only time that I have been there since the session commenced and where I would not then have gone but for my affection for you), I told you that the President, knowing the long standing friendship between us, was desirous that I should see you, and if I concurred in the opinions of the relations between the President and Senate which he stated, and in which I did concur, that I would give you my impressions. He talked to me of you with the utmost feeling and with the most earnest and warm personal regard; but he thought that you did not view the subject of these nominations in a correct light (and from what he had heard, that you were taking ground which could not fail to impair your own dignity and to present him, in a degraded light, before the nation, as being influenced in his nominations, by looking to the internal parties in the State of Illinois, and holding the balance of power between the hostile, or at least opposing Senators, from that State, in relation to those parties). In order to give me a clearer view of the grounds you had taken, he placed in my hands your several letters to him, and these I held when I saw you in the Senate Chamber. I had not, then, rec'd your letter containing a duplicate of your remonstrance to him, but rec'd it, on the same day, and after you had joined me, here. I have held both those papers ever since. (When you called for your copy, I could not think of returning it without giving you my view of the grounds you had taken, as well as a reply to

some observations in your private letter to me. Reflecting, however, on the irritated state of your feelings and the office which I hold, I was not sure that a paper, in which I differed with you in opinion, on every point, would be rec'd with the same kindness from which it flowed and the same with which I knew it would be rec'd by yourself, at a calmer moment. That moment, however, I, now, fear, will not come during this session, and I have determined to confide in your candor and friendship by sending it).

You surely do not understand the Pt. as having any manner of objection to the free exercise of your senatorial right and duty, to object to any nomination which you disapprove. If you do, be assured that you misunderstand him. I am persuaded that such is not his notion of things; and if it were, *that notion* would not find an advocate in me. No—it is not the fact of opposition—but the grounds on which he understood you to place it before the Senate, and then on which you place it in your letter to him, that he thinks incorrect. (He thinks it wrong that a Pt. of the U. S. should permit himself to be influenced by considerations of local parties in a State, and that he sh'd nominate with reference to the local effect on the respective Senators in their States. For my own part I sh'd consider it a species of bribery—it would be paying them for their support, not indeed in money, but in local power and influence). I am confident that no such considerations have entered into the Pt.'s mind in favor either of the one side or of the other, but that his nominations have been made on entirely distinct considerations, on his conviction of the superior claims of the person put in nomination;

in this conviction he may be misled by the evidence on which he acts, but that he decides without the smallest regard to the effect on the respective Senators in the State (as I think he is bound by his duty to do) I have not the least doubt. (If his nominations have an ill effect on you in Illinois, it is one of those sinister consequences of acting from correct motives, which we have frequently to lament, but which will not justify us in changing the motive of action, from a correct to an incorrect one. But I cannot conceive that this ill effect on your standing in the State can follow). The people of the State will know the fitness or unfitness of the characters appointed; and if unfit I should suppose that the censure would fall on those who recommended, not on those who opposed the appointment. But as I have considered this whole subject in the long letter I am about to send you, I will say no more.

You will pronounce me, I suspect, a closeted lawyer, without the *tact* of the practised politician from these remarks—but, my friend, there are radical principles from which I think that even the practised politician would find it unsafe to part. I allow much to the politician's observation of human nature, in adapting his measures to a given effect; but I am old-fashioned enough (or, if you please, *unpractised* enough) to think that even the most successful politician, may buy his triumphs too dear. The transcient success of a few years is but a feather in the balance against those cardinal principles that are calculated to live on the page of history. The local parties, in which you appear to have lived, have kept you in a constant state of partisan warfare—which, of all conditions of human life,

is best calculated to sharpen the observation of character, to whet the sagacity in the detection of hostile movements, even at a distance, and to fructify the invention in the adoption of countervailing manœuvres. But when a man rises, as you have risen, above the horizon of this petty warfare, he ought to forget all local feuds, as he would the adventures of his cradle—and, fixing his eye on a higher destination, to make a conciliating bow to those who are observing his ascent. This (as I heard on every hand, last winter,) was your condition—I am sure that you have the talents to make it your condition—and the address, too, without the sacrafice of personal or official dignity, *to make those minister to your distinction who may be now opposing it.* Enough! You limited me to a few lines—but I cannot, on such occasion, write a few lines, only—I regard you as a brother, for your own sake, as well as that of your dear father and mother—and it will be a balsam to me, if I can be instrumental in calming your mind—a triumph, if I can raise your enterprise, to convert your opposers, into instruments of your higher elevation—bestow an hour's thought on this latter view of the subject—and when I see T. and his party playing into your hand (a consummation not beyond your powers, if you chose to exert them,) I shall admit your *practicability*, and rejoice and exult in the success of your address—Wild! you will say—but I suspect that there are men now living and honorable men, who would not think it wild. Your friend and brother,

WM. WIRT.

N. EDWARDS, Esq.

LETTER OF THOMAS REYNOLDS, JR.*

EDWARDSVILLE, the 6th Feb., 1822.

DEAR SIR:—There has been and is a great fuss here about the office of Governor here. Edward Coles, Joseph Philips, and J. B. Moore appear to be the only candidates at present spoken of; if no other should offer there is no doubt but Phillips will be elected. My brother has been spoken of, but at present he has declared and says that he will not offer. You have been spoken of, and of late I have heard that if you were elected you would serve as it is a great distance from there to the City of Washington for you to travel as you are not well and have a great deal of business to attend to at home, which is not seen to when you are from home.

If you would accept of the office of Governor and make it known in time there is no doubt but you would be elected with ease. Tho' there is no doubt but there is some electioneering tale or other will start against you or any other person that will offer, tho' that will all amount to but little or perhaps help the cause or help your election, as it is well known by the old citizens of this State that you done a great deal for it when it wanted help or when it was a Territory.

If you conclude to offer or accept of the office you had better let it be known in time.

* Thomas Reynolds was a brother of Governor John Reynolds of this State. It is interesting as showing the political condition of things in Illinois in 1822, and prior to the election of Edward Coles as governor, in August of that year. The letter is badly written, and shows that the writer had but a limited education. Thomas Reynolds was the clerk of the first and second House of Representatives in this State. He removed to Missouri in 1828; and in 1840 was elected governor of the State.

It is well known that you have certain enemies and offer for what you may they will be against you tho' fortunately they can not do much at present.

I have purchased a piece of land that was nothing done with it in time agreeable to law which lies in St. Clair County; and was entered in the Kaskaskia Land Office. I wished to forfeit some I have in the Edwardsville Land Office that I have already taken the long instalments tho' I have but little hopes of being permitted to do this, tho' I have no doubt but further time will be given to those that did not come in due time and relinquish or take the longer credit as the time was too short from the time the Land Offices received their forms to the time limited by law was out that people at a distance could not come in due time. You will please to inform me on this subject soon, as I wish to know what to depend upon as respects my land. I am, sir, with great respect,

Your most ob't and hum. serv't, &c.,

THOMAS REYNOLDS, JR.

The Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Senator in Congress,
Washington City.

CHAPTER XI.

Letter of Gov. Edwards; it is not known to whom addressed; undoubtedly to some prominent politician in the State; high compliment paid to Judge Lockwood; letter of John Reynolds in regard to senatorial election; Kitchell, McLean, Bond, and Kane all for Thomas; wants appointments to the land-offices hastened; disappointed people will kick up; some members want Lockwood to offer; thinks he can himself succeed if election is delayed; wants to know who are in the market for land-offices; letter of President Monroe in regard to land-offices at Springfield; letter of Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey, secretary of the navy under Mr. Adams, governor of New Jersey, and U. S. senator; letter of John Pope, gives advice about farms and about settling down; letter of John C. Calhoun; writes of his presidential prospects; high compliment to Gov. Edwards; his capacity, integrity, and firmness; letter of James Latham; name of Springfield, Ill., changed to Calhoun; Mr. Latham wants an Indian agency; letter of Duff Green; he married the sister of Gov. Edwards; wants a mail contract in Missouri; letter of Salomon P. Sharpe of Kentucky; writes of national and state politics.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS.*

EDWARDSVILLE, Sept. 17, 1822.

DEAR SIR:—I should have answered your letter sooner, but I was not satisfied with its contents, and declined writing lest I might write something that would have

* This is a copy of a letter of Gov. Edwards, all in his own handwriting, but the address is not found on the letter. It was undoubtedly written to some prominent politician in the State, possibly Gov. Bond.

interrupted that good understanding which I have always most sincerely wished to subsist between us. I know not what I shall now write, but whatever it may be, it shall be in a spirit of friendship. This I premise, with the hope that it may prevent misconstruction. Any man who is so plain as you are with his friends, ought not to object to equal frankness on their part. Yet, because I am unwilling to afford the slightest grounds for offence, I shall omit much that I would wish to say, if I were sure it would be received with that kindness and candor which I am both disposed to cherish and practise.

I have long thought you disposed to require rather too much from your friends, and though I have always been willing to do more than my part, where it seemed to be required of me merely because my friends have thought I could, from some cause or other, do it better, yet, there is nothing that I can conceive of more disagreeable to me, than the idea of any man's requiring me to do any thing which he would not be equally ready to perform under similar circumstances. The unavoidable implications in such cases are of the most humiliating kind. I may have been mistaken, but this, I have often sincerely thought to be the case, as between you and myself, and that I have not manifested the discontent it has some times created is the very best proof of the sacrifices I have been disposed to make to preserve our friendship. I have endeavored to reconcile myself to such cases partly by referring them to a peculiarity in your manner which may sometimes seem to require more than is intended; partly to a kind of half-indulged belief that you have overrated my

capacity to act with effect; but principally from a disposition (which I always cherish, when deliberate), to make greater allowances for others than I would insist upon for myself.

The principle you assume as an objection to my declining another election for the Senate I really think is not founded in justice, and would render me the slave, instead of the "head of a party." No man is more ready, than I am, to acknowledge the obligations he owes his friends, none, I hope, is more willing to reciprocate them. But as a party, in which light you consider them, in your letter, I am yet to be convinced that the balance of obligation is against me. Whatever may be the fact, my own opinion is that, I have made more personal enemies, and involved myself in greater difficulties by the zeal with which I have supported my friends, than from any other cause whatever, and that my friends have never encountered as much on my account. I have not only had to defend my own official conduct, but have never been backward in defending them, and the unavoidable expenses for the support of the party have been almost exclusively borne by myself, while on the other hand, none of those friends have ever, to my knowledge, written a line in my favor; a considerable part of them have shrunk from my support to avoid the imputation of being under my influence, and some of them have thrown themselves into the scale against me, in a manner wholly unnecessary, and which, I am sure, had they been in my situation, they would have considered very unkind, at least.

Had I been governed by considerations less disinter-

ested, or merely personal to myself I should have acted very differently from what I have done; I should have confined myself to as correct a discharge of my various duties as possible, and have relied on my ability to satisfy the people with my own conduct without interfering with the concerns of others, placing as I always have done my main dependence upon the people, and pursuing such a course, I should have stood in no great need of the support of any party, and I have no doubt I might have succeeded with less difficulty and more popularity. But there are, I think, but, few men that have dreaded less, the consequences of supporting their friends, or that have been less disposed to adopt a calculating neutrality in such cases than myself. If then a party has existed, I can not believe that its object has been so exclusively personal to myself, as to forbid my withdrawing from my present station whenever my interest requires it, or my inclination leads me to do so. So far as to the party. Now, as to the individuals that compose it. Where is the man among them, that has any reason to apprehend "the resentment of enemies raised up to him in consequence of supporting me?" Who has done, or risqued more for me, than I have done or risqued for him? Who among that discription of persons alluded to can justly say that, as between him and myself, the balance of obligation is against me? If there be any such they may be assured that I feel more pleasure in discharging than receiving an obligation of that nature. Those, however, who can not fairly make such a pretension surely, have no well-founded claim upon me like that which you seem to insist upon.

There is nothing that I should be more reluctant to do, than to remind any man of acts of friendship, that I might have rendered him, for the purpose of establishing any claim upon him. The bare mention of an obligation for such purposes, is enough to cancel it altogether. It is, however, I think, perfectly fair to do so, for the purpose of off-setting a demand upon myself. There may be others who think as you do, but you are the only person who to myself has ever seemed to insist upon the abiding, and from the nature of them, never-to-be discharged, and never-ending obligations, mentioned in your letter. I say never-to-be discharged, and never-ending obligations, because so long as I continue in public life, and have any friends to support me, who by possibility may make themselves enemies thereby, according to your view of the subject, as I understand it, I can never retire without subjecting myself to the charge of improperly "deserting my friends"—a charge of which I should be sorry to be guilty, and with which, it is extremely unpleasant to me, to be accused. I should not have dwelt upon it, at present, if it had only been mentioned, for the first time, in your letter to which this is a reply. But you have heretofore insisted upon it, when, though I then thought of it as I now do, I yielded to a spirit of forbearance in not manifesting my objections to it, and in repressing the unpleasant feelings it excited.

You are not apprised and probably never will be, of some proofs of self-denial, and disinterested friendship on my part towards you, which I could refer to. But with what you do know, I can not but think you must greatly

overrate your own services, or undervalue mine, to suppose me to be largely your debtor in acts of friendship, support, or any thing of the kind alluded to, in your letter. I have never doubted, nor do I doubt your friendly disposition towards me, though it must be acknowledged that you have pretty generally left me to shift for myself, probably because you thought me able enough to do so.

At the same time that you magnify my obligations to the party, you evidently seem to forget your own. If it has done as much for you as for myself the degree of obligation would be precisely the same upon both of us. It supported us both in our respective offices under the general Govt. It elected us both to Congress. You had its support in obtaining the most honorable and dignified station in the State which you now hold and the obtainment of which, I know, was not so much a matter of course as you probably imagine. No man therefore is under greater obligations to the party than yourself, and while you insist that those who have supported me have made themselves enemies thereby, you have no reason to take it for granted that the same consequences have not resulted from the support of yourself. And if such a consideration justifies the claim upon me, which you mention, how can you exempt yourself from a similar one? Suppose there be any difference in the obligations upon us; it must be a difference not in their nature, but in degree, for here I speak only of obligations to support and assist the party without reference to any particular station or service. If I owe the greater obligation, next to myself the party has greater claims to your support and assistance than those

of any other man in the State; yet if I understood you correctly on a former occasion you seemed to think you ought to take no part in any of its contests in consequence of the station you hold. But if you could thus retire, with propriety, from your obligations, how can you insist that I ought not to do the same thing? Have I done less? Have I paid less? Have I sacrificed less? Have I encountered less vituperation and reproach for the party, or obtained more from it without equivalent, than yourself? Surely not. You compliment me with being "the acknowledged head of the party." That this may be an honorable distinction I will not pretend to deny, but if it be one that I am entitled to, most freely would I surrender it to any other person, rather than retain it upon the terms on which I may have acquired it. If to pay, to do, and to suffer vastly more than any thing like a due or just proportion can confer that distinction I know I am entitled to it. But as to my wishes, plans, or opinions, they seem to be as little consulted, and to meet as little deference as those of any other man. I can find measures decided upon, arrangements made, or my friends committed in the most important cases without my ever being consulted. And yet it seems to be considered, as a matter of course that I should support those measures, and having the character of being the head of the party, that I should, as such, take upon myself all the consequences of possible defeat. In relation to yourself it is still worse; you commit yourself with a determination to take no active part, and with a seeming claim upon me, or expection, at least, that I should do so; our relation to

each other as personal and political friends and your high standing and influence produce a similar belief in others, and thus do I find myself constrained to disappoint their expectations and incur their displeasure, or yield, without regard to the dictates of my own interest or judgment. This would seem to have the effect of transferring me to a service, which you yourself think proper to decline, and this is what my pride cannot yield to under any possible distinction in our cases, or situations. I have no right to object, nor would I do so, to your committing yourself to whom, and on what occasion you please, provided it should not implicate me, without my previous consent. Last year when I returned from Congress you were committed as to the Gov'r election. I had never been consulted on the subject, and yet, I understood you were dissatisfied with me, for declaring that I would not concern in that election, to which determination I was influenced by the dictates of my best judgment.

In your last letter you disclose your plans relative to the ensuing Senatorial election, and really seem to reproach me in pretty strong terms, for not making the objections contained in my letter, to the course that had been pursued sooner, when I never had been consulted upon the subject, could not have anticipated such a course, and made my objections to it, on the very first moment that I was informed of it. True, as you say, it was too late; but surely that was no fault of mine.

You say, "you distinctly committed yourself to Reynolds." Ought not your friends to have been consulted, unless you were prepared to separate from them? or

considered them under obligations to co-operate with you without any reference to their own predelictions, preferences, and opinions? But what are the palpable inferences of your committing yourself if you mean to take no part? Whatever they may be, I have no right to object unless they are such as to authorize an expectation that I would do what you decline, or are calculated to place me in an unpleasant predicament for not doing so. But if such is the tendency, or if your act is to be considered as committing me in the least either as an individual, or a member, much less, the "acknowledged head of a party," then I must be permitted to say, that, I think, I ought to have been previously consulted. No one man ought to attempt to make so important a selection for a whole party. If you ever consulted any of those who are esteemed the heads of the party I am not apprised of it. Thus to make a selection, and determine upon a plan of operations, with the intention to transfer its execution to myself and others, would seem to me to be inconsistent with any thing less than a spirit of dictation, and assumed superiority. Such a course of things, besides having the appearance of rendering others the instruments of executing your will (theirs not having been previously ascertained), is calculated to make the person supported in all such cases feel his principal obligations to you, while the drudgery, the labor, the expense, the real service is to be rendered by others, and thus might you profit more than any other man, or as much at least, by the success of the party, without any thing like a just, equal, and proportionate participation in its trials, expenses, labors, and

difficulties. Though you may not agree with me in this view of the subject, you may probably see in it as much reason, as there is in your censuring me, and that a little too harshly, for not trying to prevent what I did not even anticipate, and what I should have disapproved had I been consulted, that is, both your committing yourself without previous concert with your friends, and the subsequent measures that were adopted, as stated in my former letter.

I do not think it was right, after the conversation that passed between us last fall on my way to Congress relative to a gentleman in Shawnee Town, that, you should have "proposed to Mr. Lockwood to apply for the office," mentioned in your letter without affording me an opportunity previously of stating to you how far I could cooperate, especially as reference seems to be made to me for assistance. But without referring to the case alluded to, a moment's reflection might have suggested the probable presumption that, with the multitude of applications that must have been made to me in the last three years I could not have remained to this time altogether uncommitted, and of course, that your proposition might be somewhat embarrassing to me. Mr. Lockwood doubtless considers it it a strong proof of your friendship. He may consider mine less warm and sincere, since, notwithstanding his great merits, backed by your solicitation I can not support him, and hence he may infer that I am not disposed to do as much for him, as you would do in a similar situation. To a man whom I esteem so highly, and sincerely, it is painful to me to have the necessity of making an apology for not being able to gratify his wishes

imposed upon me, and as he has said nothing to me, so I have said nothing to him upon the subject.

Directly as you question my veracity as to the reasons I have assigned for declining a re-election to the Senate, I take it in no unfriendly part, for I cannot suppose offence was intended. I am not sure however that any thing of the kind would be received by you with the same allowance, and no man ought to use a freedom towards another that he would not be equally willing to receive himself.

Positively as you state "your knowledge that I like my present station" notwithstanding I have repeatedly assured you to the contrary, I have it in my power to give you ununequivocal proofs that you have been and are still greatly mistaken. Among them, I might refer to earnest efforts on my part, at a time when I did not think myself well treated, to prevail upon a citizen of this State to consent to take the station, with a pledge of my utmost exertions to procure it for him. To have overcome feelings which induced me, most deliberately, to adopt such a measure, is proof of my yielding disposition, and of the readiness with which I forget and forgive what I may consider, perhaps erroneously, just causes of dissatisfaction. The truth is that, distracted as my mind has been with my private affairs, tormented with bodily afflictions and infirmities, and sensible that I have lost much of my mental energies, perhaps on those accounts, my situation has been truly irksome to me, and nothing but importunities that I did not feel myself at liberty to disregard, could have induced me to retain it as long as I have done.

"You can not imagine that, I can now make any sacri-

fices by going to Congress," and yet, I hardly suppose it would be difficult for you to convince yourself, that, if you were to go, you would not, from a consequent inability to attend to your private affairs, have to encounter pretty considerable sacrifices, how much more so must it not be in my case with an unproductive and burthensome property, scattered through different states, a considerable amount of debts to collect, many of them in danger of being lost, a family requiring the more particular attention in consequence of the ages of some of my children, and no certain income to live upon, without constantly absorbing a part of my capital. I, at least, am perfectly convinced upon the subject, and my determination is unalterable, though I shall greatly regret it if in the execution of that determination, any friend that I have in the world, should think he had just cause of reproach to me. None can think so without assuming the ground that every thing had been done for me, and that I had failed to act well my part, or to render such an equivalent as a due regard to a just reciprocity required. None ought to complain who cannot fairly maintain such assumptions. Though I have long been disciplined into as much indifference as any man in the world can feel. * * * *

N. EDWARDS.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS.

VANDALIA, 8 Dec., 1822.

MY FRIEND:—We are now in a turmoil concerning the Senatorial Election. Judge Thomas has his friends from all parts urging his pretentions—Kitchell, McLean, Bond,

Kane, &c., are his night supporters.* I think without boasting that we will succeed. The election will be delayed, I think, until spring. I can keep it off in the Senate. Now, on this plan, I want you to co-operate in hastening the appointments of the land offices, so that our fellow citizens may not many of them be deceived. The disappointed people will *kick up*. Kinney wants the contract; he is alive on this head. A line to him would fix him. He leans for Thomas. White, you know his situation. This is a delicate matter, treat it as you please. Some members want Lockwood to offer. If we are all reconciled, Thomas goes out. Judge Pope is among us. I have powerful friends here in and out of the Legislature. I must succeed if the election be delayed. I want to harmonise with Lockwood and his friends. I have told them to run the strongest man. I want you for the good of the cause to urge, by all means, the filling of the offices. Kinney and White are in your care likewise. I want to unite so we may succeed. Please write me of facts as to who are in the market for land offices. This I can handle to advantage. Please shew this to Judge Cook. Your family was well the other day. I am now anxious to beat.

Your friend,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

* The struggle for the election for senator in place of Jesse B. Thomas, whose term expired March 4, 1823, had commenced at Vandalia when this letter was written. Thomas was the leading candidate, as may be implied from this letter; but it is evident that the "Old Ranger" had an eye to the windward, and had great hopes of success if the election could be delayed. The election came off January 9, 1823, and Jesse B. Thomas received twenty-nine votes; John Reynolds sixteen votes; Leonard White six votes; and Samuel D. Lockwood two votes. Thomas' majority over all the candidates was six votes.

(Fac-simile Letter of James Monroe.)

confidential

Jan 23. 1823.

how there postpone for...
has it will be better, to say nothing as
to the motive.

very sincerely yours
James Monroe

(Fac-simile Letter of James Monroe.)

confidential

Jany 23. 1823.

Dear Sir.

on further consideration, I think that it will be best, to withdraw the nomination of Mr Cox & Mr Enos, & to change the order for that first proposed by you, by nominating Mr: Cox as Register and Mr Enos as Receiver. Should the nomination be taken up to be so read as to leave them postponed for this purpose, for it will be better, to say nothing as to the motive.

very sincerely yours

James Monroe

(Pensacola Lumber & Timber Mercury)

P. S.—A letter from Calhoun to Kinney would do.

The Hon. N. EDWARDS,
Senator in Cong. from Illinois,
Washington.

LETTER OF JAMES MONROE.*

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

Jan'y 23, 1823.

DEAR SIR:—On further consideration, I think that it will be best, to withdraw the nomination of Mr. Cox and Mr. Enos, and to change the order for that first proposed by you, by nominating Col. Cox as Register, and Mr. Enos as the Receiver. Should the nominations be taken up be so kind as to have them postponed for this purpose, tho' it will be better to say nothing as to the motive.

Very sincerely yours,
JAMES MONROE.

Governor EDWARDS, of the Senate.

LETTER OF SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD.†

MY DEAR SIR:—I was extremely gratified by the receipt of your letter, not because you had a visit from your old friend, the gout, nor your new one, fever and ague. I would not wish my worst enemy either frequently or long

* This letter of President Monroe, which is lithographed, shows his personal attention to appointments. Colonel Cox and Mr. Enos were the first United States land officers at Springfield.

† At this time Mr. Southard had just retired from the United States Senate as a senator from the State of New Jersey, where he had been the colleague

continued visits from either of them, much less would I rejoice at your being persecuted by them, but I was glad to hear from you and to know that neither of them alone, nor both united, could dispirit you, nor make you indifferent to passing events. I had heard the rumor you mention about N. York, but I do not dread the effort there, it will not, *for the present*, be successful. At least Thompson *can, if he will*, prevent it. It is too late to put any machinery in motion *here*, to operate *there in time*. All that can be done, is a *short* article or two in our leading papers, which, I am told, will appear immediately. The symptoms in Virginia are very strong and will grow stronger. I know that State. It is misunderstood and misrepresented and the friends of a certain man will find it so.

I look, with some curiosity, for A. B. He is a troublesome fellow. I wish we could find him out. I would write more, but am pressed for time. Write frequently; I shall be pleased to hear often and freely.

Yours, &c., &c.,

SAM'L L. SOUTHARD.

Trenton, 26 March, 1823.

I have blurred the other side of this paper; have not time to copy; therefore send you half a sheet..

Hon. N. EDWARDS.

of Governor Edwards. He was the secretary of the navy for a short time under Mr. Monroe, and during the whole of the term of Mr. Adams. He was governor of New Jersey in 1832, and was again elected United States senator, serving from December 2d, 1833, to May 3, 1842, when he resigned. He was a whig in politics, and his political career was a long and distinguished one.

LETTER OF JOHN POPE.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug'st 30th, 1823.

DEAR SIR:—I received a letter from you about two weeks since apprising me of your intended visit to Tennessee and of your probable return to Russellville about this time. I have endeavored to procure United States money to the am't of 50 dollars, the sum you left with me, but could not procure it here, nor can I until I go to Louisville, about the 15th next month. I could only obtain one five-dollar note. That and the balance in silver I would have sent to Presley, for you, if an opportunity had occurred. By Mr. Wm Hundley, who goes to his brother John, in Trigg County, the 20th of September, I will send it to your brother Presley, unless you direct it to be lodged in the U. S. Branch Bank at Louisville. On the other subject you mentioned of change of residence and the purchase of an improved farm, I can give you wholesome advice whether I follow it myself or not. Frequent removals if they produce no other bad effect tend to render a man restless and unhappy, lessens our stability of character, relaxes those social ties and principles which bind us to society and are the chief source of human felecity and repose. It is difficult to settle down after a wandering, rambling life without visitations of hippo. I cannot disapprove of removal to an elder and more settled and regulated state of society; a man of fortune should never anchor himself in a new unsettled state of things; a new country filled from every quarter of the globe and perpetually changing will not for half a century acquire a stable character nor will the social state acquire that firm healthy

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basis and regularity essential to social order and comfort. Make up your mind to anchor yourself somewhere and make up your mind to rest. There are many fine, well-improved farms in Kentucky, in good neighborhoods, to be had on good terms and long credit, but few such to be exchanged for out lands. They are generally mortgaged or the property of the banks. The late residence of Mr. John Reed, whose daughter Cyrus married, is to be sold under mortgage to Mr. Nelson in a few weeks. 1100 acres, highly improved, good water, fruit, and adjoining the town of Springfield, on two years' credit, for specie—a very desirable place. The former residence of Judge Tunis, now the property of the Rev'd Jacob Breath, is for sale on good terms on long credit. The late residence of John Marshall and Humphrey Marshall, one mile east of Frankfort, adjoining the farm of Tibath Talbott, on the south, about 700 acres, the greater part of the first quality, the property of the Bank of U. S., or of the Bank of Kentucky; a few months ago, perhaps, released, and again the property of Marshall, is, I expect for sale. With Talbott you can't contract; he is not in debt, and a hard hand. Don't stand upon a small sum if you wish to settle for life. Choose your ground and purchase without too much regard to price. Some of the finest farms in the neighborhood of Louisville are substantially the property of the banks and can be had on long credit on good terms. Please your fancy and judgment without being too anxious to get a great bargain—rather make a sacrifice to suit yourself. The seat of government will not be changed in any short period, if ever, and if you

settle near it, and I should be governor next year, as I expect, you may possibly be made judge of the Court of Appeals, which will give you good employment and a good annuity for life, and you will, I think, be happy and contented. You are now the father of a large family, I believe, and rather too unwieldy for the turbulent and troubled sea of politics—*otium cum dignitate* should be your end and aim. You must attend to my precepts and not my example, because I know my precept right and that in practice I am a bad model to follow. I am in earnest when I tell you that I expect to be the next governor. Mention it in the State of Green river and see how it takes. I shall either do that or make an effort for the Senate of the U. S. I can't give up the ship. I have been so long embargoed that I can't be reconciled to land until I make another voyage. Nat. Pope is in Jefferson and will be here in a week or two, and I could wish most sincerely that you could extend and prolong your journey. You will find your advantage in it if you have made up your mind to return. I am surprised that you think of Missouri. It seems to me the least desirable of any part of the Western world. I must stop my pen or I shall protract this epistle to a most unreasonable length. Your friend and relative,

J. POPE.

The Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Washington City.

LETTER OF JOHN C. CALHOUN.*

WASHINGTON, 23d Sept., 1823.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have been much pleased with Gen'l Green. He is intelligent and decisive; and must in time become important in the West. I have conversed with him freely, and he can give you full information of the state of things in this quarter. Great changes have taken place. I now consider my prospect at least equal to any other in New York. In fact I feel confident that it is much the best. In Pennsylvania, I hold my own. Jackson and myself divide the State. In New Jersey I am at least as strong as Adams. There is no other interest there. In New England a strange state of things exists. Tho' Adams is the strongest, there is a strong feeling that his position there is not a firm one. North Carolina has begun the contest at last. Of 12 papers in that State six are for me, two for C—d, one for Adams, but preferring me to C—d, another for him, but not decided between C—d and myself, another against C—d, but not decided between A. and myself; and another not yet out. My friends all say that I will certainly take the State.

I enclose you the last *F. G.* and two of the last North Carolina papers.

I hope you will not think of retiring. Your efforts in

* Mr. Calhoun was at this time secretary of war in Mr. Monroe's cabinet. He was then a candidate for president to succeed Mr. Monroe. He was on the most friendly terms with Gov. Edwards at this time, and there are many letters of his to the governor, some of a confidential character, which are published by Mr. Ninian W. Edwards in his "History of Illinois, and Life of Ninian Edwards." This letter is published here, and lithographed to show the handwriting of that distinguished man.

I hope that you will not
think me unworthy. Your efforts
with the Governor have
been
successful
I am
Yours
S. C. Collins

Silas N. Edwards.

I hope that you will not
stick to victory. Your efforts
in the present crisis is of
the greatest importance. Few
men can have greater in-
fluence over the society
of the county than yourself
at this time. You can
withstand and firmly
are all important.

With kindest regards

I am

Yours

A. C. Allen

Hon. N. Edwards.

the present crisis is of the greatest importance. Few men can have greater influence over the destiny of the country than yourself at this time. Your capacity, intelligence, and firmness are all important.

With sincere respect, I am, &c., &c.,

J. C. CALHOUN.

Hon. N. EDWARDS.

LETTER OF JAMES LATHAM.*

CALHOUN, Nov. 12th, 1823.

DEAR GOVERNOR:—I have just time to give you a small sketch of our sales; at this time they have sold between 18 and 20,000$. Considerable more than half are sold; no opposition as yet. Colo. Cox, Mr. Enos, and Maj'r Iles has purchased Springfield and have altered the name to Calhoun with the general satisfaction of the people. Mr. Calhoun is growing in popularity very fast here. When I was in St. Louis I was detained longer than I expected, on private business. Gen'l Clark gave me a letter from Fulton to shew to you, which was nearly word for word that was in the one that you had the goodness to let me see that you rec'd of him. When I got to Springfield I got Colo. Cox, Mr. Matheny, and several other gentlemen to write to Gen'l Clark and Gov. Coles, stating the character of that man and the citizens generally at Fort Clark, which I think will put that business at

* It is probably not known at this day that in 1823 the name of Springfield, Illinois, had been changed to Calhoun, "with the general satisfaction of the people." The change could not have lasted long. The post-mark on this letter is "Sangamo, Ill."

rest. Gen'l Clark requested me to write you that one of the Mr. Rectors and a Mr. Campbell were candidates for the agency on the Illinois in place of Maj'r Grayham. The gen'l told me that Maj'r Grayham would be appointed agent in the Missouri and that agency would be vacant, and it was his wish that I should get the appointment. He also thought that the agency should be removed to the head of the lake, in order to be away from the whites. Now, my dear sir, I am willing to go anywhere for the best, and will leave it to your judg't to say if any thing is or can be done respecting the agency; pray don't forget me or any other that you may think will be to my advantage. I think as Maj'r Grayham's agency is now with the Kickapoos a principal agency may be obtained in this place. Gen'l Clark says there must be one, for, he says, the business is too much for a sub-agent, but I say again I leave all to your good judg't. Am with the greatest respect, Your friend sincerely,

JAS. LATHAM.

At your leasure be pleased to give me your opinion and particulars respecting the President's. Pray write freely, you know I am your friend. J. L.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Senator in Congress, W. City.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.

CHARITON, Dec. 10th, 1823.

DEAR SIR:—I have just returned from Franklin and have been making my arrangements to put my line of

stages in operation. I find that the expense will be great and that I cannot possibly carry the mail in good stages at the price proposed. I must economise in horses, carriages, drivers, fare, and everything else to justify the contract and I will feel ashamed to advertise for passengers under such arrangements.

The line is 174 miles, making at least:

9 pair of horses, 2 for every 20 miles, equal	$1500
4 carriages at $300 each	1200
5 pair of harness extra of those with carriage, $35 each	175
9 drivers at $10 per month, equal $120 each	1080
Feed of 9 pair of horses per year at $2.50 each pair per week, $130 each	1170
Board of 9 drivers at $60 each	540
Horseshoeing	150
Contingencies	1000
	$6815

The above estimate will be found to fall little short of the actual expenditure for one year if the line is conducted properly. The transportation of passengers is uncertain, if I get $1000 by passengers I shall do more than I expect, and for the capital employed this will not be enough. My proposition was $30 per mile once a week or $45 for twice in large stages; or $15 weekly or $30 twice a week in small stages to carry two passengers. If I make this contract, I will have light Dearborns and employ fewer drivers, and the cost of horses, stages, and drivers taken off can make money at the price proposed by the Post-Master General.

stages in operation. I find that the expense will be great and that I cannot possibly carry the mail in good stages at the price proposed. I must economise in horses, carriages, drivers, fare, and everything else to justify the contract and I will feel ashamed to advertise for passengers under such arrangements.

The line is 174 miles, making at least:

9 pair of horses, 2 for every 20 miles, equal $1500
4 carriages at $300 each ---------- 1200
5 pair of harness extra of those with carriage, ---------- 175
$35 each ---------- 1080
9 drivers at $10 per month, equal $120 each ---------- 1080
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Board of 9 drivers at $60 each ---------- 540
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But $65 per mile has heretofore been given for carrying the mail in stages three times a week and I think I ought to have at least $6000 per annum for carrying the mail twice a week, which is only $34.49 per mile. $7000 is only $40.28 and less than has been heretofore given.

I have written to Mr. Scott and Col. Johnson on this subject but cannot expect them to take the same interest in it that you will, and believe that the department are disposed to extend to me as much patronage as it can, consistent with the public good. You will do me a favor to call on Mr. McLean and urge on him the propriety of sending the mail *twice* a week to Franklin and if possible increase my compensation to $7000 per annum. $9000 is now given for carrying the mail 90 miles in Tennessee. I need not say to you that my situation requires assistance. I have however paid Gen'l Smith—and depend on this contract to save me from other pressing necessities.

I have put in proposals for carrying the mail from Franklin to Liberty in a Dearborn at $2000. I have authorized Mr. Scott to reduce that bid to $1500. I can make my arrangements to carry that mail on good terms and want you to procure it for me. I am now carrying it and will continue to do so until I hear from Mr. McLean. I have bought light two-horse Dearborns to carry four and if need require six passengers, which I intend to run on the lower route until I get good, new stages made and will then transfer them to this route. Urge this on the Post-Master General and by all means secure me this contract.

I received a letter from Gen'l Clark informing me that a

Mr. Bennett Vasques had been appointed interpreter for the Ioways with authority *to act as sub-agent*, &c., *he has entered on the duties of his office.*

The press of other matter has prevented the printer at Franklin from publishing Mr. Calhoun's report. I wrote to them and have their *promise positive* that it will appear next week as well as other matter which keeps up a strong feeling for Mr. Calhoun. The common people speak much of the Indian war and are desirous that another regiment may be ordered up the Missouri River. I find them most sensative and I intend to keep up that feeling. In the mean time I wish you to forward me anything calculated to operate here.

You know my views and should you be enabled to serve me I feel assured that nothing will be wanting. Two candidates are already out for Clay, in this district it is probable that old Col. Coper will come out for Jackson, and if I find that I cannot carry for Calhoun will support him. Yours sincerely,

D. GREEN.*

Let me hear from you; I am sure that you can procure me this contract through your influence with Mr. Calhoun. If it is procured at $7000 I shall be able to pay off all my debts and I shall then be the most popular man in this district, and you know that much depends on the popularity of the candidate.

Hon. N. EDWARDS (Senator), Washington City.

* Duff Green married the sister of Governor Edwards. He afterward became a great Jackson man, and published a Jackson paper at Washington, called the *Telegraph*, which was a very unpopular sheet with the anti-Jackson men, who called it the "*Tel-lie-graph*".

LETTER OF SOLOMON P. SHARP.*

SHELBYVILLE COURT, February 11th, 1824.

DEAR SIR:—I am under great obligations to you for your kind attentions in inclosing to me the Documents accompanying the President's message; although but little of my time can be devoted to political subjects from professional duties, I still feel that interest in knowing the aspects of the political Horizon as to feel great obligations to my friends who facilitate my means of information.

I should much sooner have acknowledged the receipt of your letters but was still waiting in hopes of something to write worth your reading; in that I have waited in vain, all is so still and quiet here that an opinion can not be very certainly formed of the bent and direction of public opinion. We, so long as our State calculates on a candidate of its own, repose in perfect inaction supposing the vote to take that direction some little talk is excited of electing candidates for Electors for General Jackson, but no one is as yet induced to think it will produce much contest, so strong is the feeling of state pride in having a candidate of their own.—Next to Clay and Jackson Mr. Calhoun stands decidedly ahead of the other candidates; but that will I apprehend be tested in Congress the next winter if more than two are voted for by the Electors.

The *Intelligencer* states positively that you are to have a caucus; if so it is to nominate Crawford, of course. I expected his friends to take that course. It would appear

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they cannot have a majority to meet; should such a meeting take place would not a counter meeting be advisable if it could be had and select the strongest of the other candidates to run alone against him that would ensure success; would not such a counter meeting be sure to select Mr. Calhoun as the strongest of the other candidates. If you can spare the time let me know the possible prospects of each candidate.

We are likely to have a warm contest for Governor. The State will divide into two parties Relief and anti-Relief. The contest will be between Desha and Tomkins; I fear our State will undergo a degree of excitement and division of parties that may disturb it for years to come. I am happily out of political excitement of all sorts, only concerned for the success and prosperity of yourself and the rest of my friends who are on the tapis. If you can reconcile yourself to the turmoil and labour of political life and take that leading part in publick concerns which you are so capable of doing, you may soon, very soon raise yourself to the summit of promotion, and no one will more rejoice to see it than I shall.

Be pleased to let me hear often from you; everything you write will be interesting.

With great respect I remain your humble servant,

SOLOMON P. SHARP.

The Honorable NINIAN EDWARDS, Senator in Congress,
Washington City, D. C.

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CHAPTER XII.

Letter of Thomas Lippincott; a strong anti-slavery man; father of of Gen. Lippincott, auditor of public accounts in Illinois; desires clerkship in land-office at Washington; the convention question; letter of Governor Edwards to Rufus King; expresses his grateful appreciation for Mr. King's friendship; note verbale of Gen. Jackson; brief note of Rufus King, advising Gov. Edwards of his confirmation as minister to Mexico; confirmed unanimously and without debate; letter of Daniel P. Cook in relation to the Edwards and Crawford controversy; is prepared "to meet all attacks with discretion and calmness"; letter of Gov. Edwards to President Monroe; states his reasons why he resigns his position as minister to Mexico; letter of John Sloane of Ohio; wants endorsement of Gov. Edwards; letters of William Wirt in regard to the Edwards and Crawford controversy.

LETTER OF THOMAS LIPPINCOTT.*

EDWARDSVILLE, 16th February, 1824.

DEAR SIR:—It is probable that the enquiry in the House of Representatives relative to additional clerks in the General Land Office, will result in authorizing the appointment of several, in which case vacancies may occur that will not be filled from those who are in readiness at the city. Should this be the case, and should it be con-

* Thomas Lippincott was a clergyman, and was a strong anti-slavery man, as well as a vehement opponent of the convention; was elected secretary to the Senate in the third legislature of Illinois, December 2d, 1822; was made a corresponding-member of the Chicago Historical Society in 1860; and died at Pana, Ill., April 13, 1869. He was the father of Gen. Charles E. Lippincott, who was auditor of public accounts in this State from 1869-77.

sistent with the regulations of the office to give a sufficient time to enable persons from distant parts of the Union to become candidates, I should be glad of a situation. I need not inform you that the business of the land office is not entirely new to me; nor need I remind you that my business and prospects are not such as to afford inducements for my stay in this place.

On many accounts I have been accustomed to desire that my future residence might be in Illinois, but my duty to my family, and in fact the means of my subsistence depends on my obtaining some situation that will secure a regular income. I know you will require no apology for presenting my private affairs, while so much and such momentous concerns of a public nature claim your attention, for you know the necessity which prompts me.

You have no doubt heard of most of the occurrences of the day in this State. I will however inform you, thinking it may be new, that your letter to our late worthy friend Mr. Randle has been opened by his family, and the contents made known to a few individuals. I believe it is the general desire of the anti-conventionists of the county to secure your talents in their favor in the next Legislature. The only exceptions that I know of are to be found in and near Alton, where there is an opposition, the cause of which is known to you. *They* however only know that you have been written to on the subject, and I believe know nothing of your answer. Former political opponents, now unite with former friends in the desire of electing you. On Saturday next a meeting of Anti-Conventionists in the county will be held preparatory to nominating candidates.

Mr. Lockwood and myself as well as others of your friends think it our duty to prevent if possible a collision between different sections and will therefore endeavor to keep you out of view in the nomination if we should discover such an opposition as would endanger your election. Such we think would be your desire, and such we are confident would be the safest course for the success of our party.

Attempts are making in the county, and perhaps more extensively, to persuade the people that you are in favor of the introduction of slavery. Every effort will be made by the convention party, or rather the leaders of it, to defeat the election of one whom they so much fear.

A letter, said to be written by Mr. Joseph Smith of Alexandria to Mr. Wilbanks of St. Clair, is shown by Mr. Kinney to the people which states that you assured Mr. S. that "the convention would no doubt succeed." This will have an unhappy effect, for many people rely on your judgment, and you are aware that there are not a few who love to be on the strongest side. I am of opinion moreover that without some unexpected revulsion, we shall be spared the mortification and injury that would result from the success of that question.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Edwards this morning who is in usual health as are the rest of the family.

With real respect, I am, sir,

THOS. LIPPINCOTT.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS, U. S. Senate,

Washington C.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO RUFUS KING.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21st, 1824.

DEAR SIR:—The proof of your friendship, which your kind note affords me, inspires me with feelings which it would be impossible to express. I *never* will forget or cease to be unfeignedly grateful for it.

That I shall meet all the opposition you allude to, I know, just as well as that it will be utterly unavailing. I speak advisedly, when I say it cannot succeed, unless, my friends should be absent when the vote is taken.

The weather being cloudy, and being still much indisposed, I do not know whether I can venture out this evening. If not Mr. Cock will call upon you, and can give you every information on the subject. At all events I will see you as soon as I dare.

With great esteem, yours truly,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Hon. RUFUS KING,
Geo. Town.

LETTER OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.*

WASHINGTON, 24th Feb., 1824.

DEAR SIR:—The Recommendations of you for the appointment of Governor of the Illinois Territory in 1809, are not to be found on the files of the Office. Perhaps they may be upon those of the Senate, to whom such

* This letter of Mr. Adams was written while he was secretary of state under Mr. Monroe. It is lithographed.

Documents are often sent, and where they are sometimes casually retained.

Yours faithfully,

J. Q. ADAMS.

N. EDWARDS, Esq., S. U. S.

NOTE VERBALE OF GENERAL JACKSON.*

Gen. A. Jackson, with compliments to Gov. Edwards, congratulates him upon the ratification of his nomination—returns his thanks to him for the perusal of the extract of the letter inclosed, and returns it to him.

SENATE CHAMBER, March 4th, 1824.

The Hon'ble N. EDWARDS of the Senate.

LETTER OF RUFUS KING.†

SENATE CHAMBER, March 4th, 1824.

DEAR SIR:—The nomination of the Envoy to Mexico was taken up this morning and confirmed; 27 Senators rising in favor of it.

Yours faithfully,

R. KING.

P. S. There was no Debate.

Hon'ble N. EDWARDS of Illinois.

* General Jackson was one of the senators from Tennessee at the time this *note verbale* was written. A lithograph is given.

† There seems to have been suggestions of opposition to the confirmation of Governor Edwards as minister to Mexico. It appears by this letter that he was confirmed without question and without debate.

[Fac-simile Letter of A. Jackson.]

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Nashville
March 4th 1824.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.*

WASHINGTON CITY, April 17th, 1824.

DEAR GOV.:—I rec'd your letter this morning and have rec'd the papers you sent to Mr. Calhoun. I shall most certainly get the resolution referred to and your statement to the committee. The A. B. between the 29 March and the 9th April Mr. Calhoun will give me from his file, so that all shall be complete. I shall see Mr. Campbell of Ohio, to-day, and should have done so before writing, but could not find him at home, and endeavor to get him to move the reference to a committee. I think from the interest he has expressed to me on the subject that he will do so. If he will not, I will get some one else—probably Houston. Calhoun says Clay will give a good committee, that is, one that will do justice, as he believes. Houston says he will stand by you to the last, and so will all Tennessee, except Cooke.

I shall give the papers to Mr. Clay to-morrow. I want first to show them to some of my friends, who will aid me. Mr. Calhoun, and so do I, think it will be best not to publish them in the *Republican* until after they are printed by the House, but merely take proper notice of them, give a summary and promise them *in extenso*. Cobb stated to Campbell that he was sorry Crawford had revived the subject by his report. I think Crawford's friends begin to smell a rat.

I have read your answer most particularly, and I think

* This relates to the trouble which had arisen between Governor Edwards and Mr. Crawford, and which became the subject of investigation by the House of Representatives while Mr. Cook was a member of Congress.

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it must have a most powerful effect. It is certainly as clear as it could be, and so far as the publication will have any effect on your reputation for talents it must be most happy.

I look for an enraged and vindictive reply from some one. Crawford must muster up all his powers, and doubtless will do so, to meet it. His "bullies" will be put in requisition, and I look for vindictive assaults upon myself. Rest satisfied, however, that I shall meet them with discretion and calmness. I will not be betrayed into folly or rashness. There are none of his friends but Forsythe and McLane of Del. that I will meet as deserving *my special* notice. This will be high ground to be sure, but I will take it. Forsythe and I have had some sparring on the tariff. I think, altho' he has been in Spain I need not, I certainly do not dread him.

McLane of Del. is not disposed, I think, to *go very far* in his defence of Mr. Crawford. This I infer from some circumstances that I deem conclusive.

Mr. Adams' friends will aid, and stand by you.

If Clay acts fairly, I think there will be no danger.

The mail is nearly ready to go. Affectionately,

D. P. COOK.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO PRESIDENT MONROE.*

June 22, 1824.

SIR:—Intending hereby to make a voluntary surrender

* In this letter, for reasons stated, Governor Edwards resigns his position as minister to Mexico.

of an appointment which my enemies have endeavored to force from me, I beg leave to submit to you a brief review of some of the most prominent circumstances which have influenced my recent conduct towards Mr. Crawford, and eventually produced my present determination.

Whatever doubt there might otherwise have been, as to the real object of his report of the 22d of March last, his subsequent communication to the committee of investigation renders it manifest that, his design was to injure me. Having for years past experienced his hostility, and apprised, as I was last summer, of an intended attack upon me at the late session of Congress, I could but regard that report as a premeditated and deliberate attempt to destroy my reputation—and one too, which, from the nature of the circumstances, could not have failed to have been extensively successful, had it, as was intended and expected, escaped my notice till after I had left the United States. Scarcely had I departed from this city before his friends commenced using it, to my disadvantage, handing it about, and insinuating that it established the charge of perjury against me. Nor have I the least doubt that, had it remained unnoticed by me till after my embarkation for Mexico, every Radical paper in the Union would have been engaged in maintaining and enforcing the same insinuation.

With such impressions as these, self-defence, I thought, was not only a right that belonged to me, but a duty which I owed both to myself and friends. Not having in my possession, nor expecting to obtain, before I would reach Edwardsville, documents to establish the truth of

my oath, which had thus been questioned, but anxious to put my denial on the same record on which Mr. Crawford had placed his accusation, and fearing that Congress might adjourn before I could transmit a defence from Edwardsville, I had no other alternative for avoiding the risk of an adjournment, than barely to endeavor to invalidate the statements he had made against me.

In doing this, I had necessarily to employ statements against him, which fully justified the conclusions I attempted to deduce from them.

Knowing these statements to be true, and feeling the importance to me, of maintaining them to be so, I challenged an investigation thereof in the following words, viz.:

"I will say, that, if, being an officer of the same government under which he holds his office, I have wilfully and maliciously misrepresented him, in the six foregoing allegations, it is a misdemeanor that would prove me unworthy of the office I hold. I invite him, or any of his friends to make this charge against me, pledging myself to waive all notice, and with all the disadvantages of absence to submit to an investigation by either or both Houses of Congress, and to abide by the decision thereupon."

This invitation was promptly accepted by his friends, and with a view to obtain my dismissal from office, they called for investigation; demanded my personal attendance; prepared, by every means in their power for my overthrow; and anticipating that the report of the committee would be such as to render it your duty to dismiss

me, have constantly labored to prepare the public mind to expect that my fate would depend upon that report. It is now before you. You yourself will perceive that all my charges against Mr. Crawford have been established; that the committee have not been able to detect a single inaccuracy in any of the facts I alleged against him; and that, they have completely acquitted me of his charge. I might, therefore, fairly conclude that the report furnishes no ground for my dismissal. It appears to me also that there is nothing that should forbid my proceeding on the mission to Mexico.

There is no reason to believe that the report will be further acted on by the House of Representatives.

Acquitting me, as it does, of the charge against which I have defended myself, and containing no allegation against me, I can not complain of it to the House, without changing the attitude of self-defence, in which I have placed myself, which I shall not do.

Mr. Crawford knows that all my allegations against him are true, and can therefore have no motive to demand a further investigation, as he could not possibly hope to obtain any report more favorable to himself.

Events may be expected to occur between this time and the next session of Congress which, it is reasonable to suppose, will indispose the House to call up the subject. But even should a further investigation of Mr. Crawford's conduct take place, it can not be supposed that, I should again be sent for as a witness, since it is now ascertained that, none of my charges depend upon my own oath; that all of them can be as well established without my presence,

as with it, and that even, if my oath were necessary, it has already been taken.

Under all these circumstances it appears to me that nothing I have done could justify my dismissal; and nothing that it is reasonable to expect will be required of me to do, forbids my employment according to my appointment. I, therefore, should suppose that, after having defeated my opponents on the very trial which they themselves appealed to, neither justice, nor policy would be consulted by giving me up as a sacrifice to appease them; and I will not believe that I should be dismissed from office.

So far from wishing to avoid dismissal, by a voluntary resignation, I regret the necessity which impells me to the latter, the more, in consequence of there being nothing in the report against which I can consistently complain, and the object of my enemies being gained, I shall no longer be so attacked as to bring me into further contest with them. This, I confess, is a position which, it goes hard with me to gain by such means and were I alone concerned I would sooner perish than do it. Other considerations there are, however, which I do not think myself at liberty to disregard.

Regretting that your name, and the names of certain members of your cabinet should have been so unjustly and wickedly dragged into the controversy in which I have been engaged, and being unwilling to see the latter days of your long and useful life of public service embittered by the unprincipled attacks of a desperate faction, or that you should have any other embarrassment on my account.

I therefore, and for *this reason only*, hereby tender to you my resignation of my appointment as Minister to Mexico.

I have the honor to be with the highest esteem, gratitude, and friendship, sir, Y'r mo. ob'd't s't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

The President U. S.

LETTER OF JOHN SLOANE.*

JEFFERSON COUNTY, OHIO, Sep't 1st, 1824.

DEAR SIR:—I have just passed through my district on a visit to my brother, and find that I am to be violently opposed at the ensuing election which takes place on the 11th of October next. From the exertions my opponent is making, I have no doubt he will resort to every kind of falsehood possible to aid him. I am not alarmed, but would be glad to have in my power the means necessary to defeat him. I would have wrote to you before, but it was not until yesterday I learnt you were at Washington. My competitor is busily engaged in circulating a report which rests on his own assertion that I had no agency in procuring the passage of laws "for the relief of the purchasers of public land," and that my standing is not good at Washington. As a gentleman who is well acquainted with my legislative course and standing, I ask the favour of you to address a letter to my friend John Patton, Esq.,

* Mr. Sloane was a member of Congress from Ohio from 1819 to 1829. Afterward he was secretary of State of Ohio for three years, and subsequently appointed treasurer of the United States by President Fillmore, serving from November 27th, 1850, to April 1st, 1853. Mr. Cook had already been elected a member of Congress from Illinois at the date of the letter.

of Wooster, Ohio, expressive of the opinion you entertain of me.

I have not yet heard the result of the election in Illinois. I hope, however, Mr. Cook has succeeded.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your ob't serv't,

J. SLOANE.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS, Washington City,

[forwarded to] Shepperdstown, V.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM WIRT.*

WASHINGTON, October 2, 1824.

DEAR SIR:—The President in answer to my letter says that the two statements, to-wit:

1. That you had denied to him the authorship of the A. B. letters and thereby obtained your nomination to Mexico, and

2. That you had applied through Mr. Adams to be permitted to wait on him and had been refused, are unfounded. The first most certainly; the last according to his best recollection. He thinks, also, that Doct. Everett could not have spoken by his authority in making the communication which you say he did to Mr. Cook.

The President, however, is extremely unwilling to take any step which could be construed into a personal interference in your controversy with the Secretary of the

* This letter of Mr. Wirt to Governor Edwards, in respect to his controversy with Mr. Crawford, is lithographed, as showing the handwriting of that distinguished man.

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Treasury, more especially at this point of time when the affair seems to have died away and when any movement on his part, although intended as a mere act of justice to you, would certainly be interpreted into a disposition on his part to revive the odious dispute, to the prejudice of Mr. C. He thinks that every purpose you have in view will be answered by your own denial of those statements in the papers published here—which, under the silence observed on his part, will be considered as true—and, moreover, if any one sh'd personally apply to him for information on the subject, he will say of the statements what I have said above. As this letter does not concern me alone, you will consider it as not intended for public use.

In great haste,

Y'r's truly,

WM. WIRT.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq., Brown's Hotel.

BALTIMORE, October 23, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR:—The enclosed letter was written and sent to Brown's, where it arrived a few minutes after you left the tavern. It was said to be uncertain whither you destination might be. I now learn that you are at Shepperd's town, and hasten to forward the letter to you.

I remain, in very great haste,

Yours truly,

WM. WIRT.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,

Edwardsville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XIII.

Letter of Wm. Lee D. Ewing; wants assistance of Gov. Edwards to get surveying contract; Mr. Ewing a senator in the legislature in 1832; being president of the senate, becomes governor for fifteen days in 1834; afterward elected U. S. senator; letter of Felix Grundy; goes to Edwardsville to defend Winchester for the killing of Smith; his long and distinguished public life in Kentucky and Tennessee; United States senator from Tennessee and attorney-general in the cabinet of Mr. VanBuren; his great reputation as a criminal lawyer; letter of John Scott of Missouri; wants "Coke on Littleton"; the third delegate in Congress from Missouri; a representative in Congress from Missouri for six years; gives the vote of Missouri for Mr. Adams, in 1824; letter of Judge Richard M. Young; urges Edwards to become a candidate for governor; Judge Young a long time on the Circuit and Supreme Bench of Illinois, United States senator, commissioner of general land-office; letter of Gen. Sam Houston; fac-simile of his well-known signature; letter of Gov. Edwards to Henry Clay; wants a favorable recognition of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal from Pres. John Quincy Adams; letter of Daniel P. Cook; Andrew Stevenson of Virginia offended because Cook had been placed above him on the committee of ways and means; high political positions occupied by Andrew Stevenson; the father of ex-Gov. Stevenson of Kentucky; married Miss Sarah Coles, a sister of Edward Coles, the second governor of Illinois; letter of Gov. Edwards to A. G. S. Wight; revives memories of strange times in Illinois; transfer of service of colored persons in Illinois; Col. Wight an early settler in the Fever-River lead-mines; letter of Daniel P. Cook; speculations as to the circuit judgeship under the new judiciary bill; another letter of Mr. Cook on the same subject; a letter of Mr. Cook to his wife; letter of Gov. Edwards to Henry Eddy, written during during the pending gubernatorial

contest of 1826; Gov. Edwards fights all the factions single-handed and alone; his success as a political canvasser; Dr. Newhall's opinion of him; common people proud to vote for such a high-toned and elegant gentleman; the candidates for governor at this election; the full vote given; Henry Eddy, a man of ability and high character.

LETTER OF WM. LEE D. EWING.*

VANDALIA, Ill., Feb. 18, 1825.

DEAR SIR:—Indulge me in the liberty of addressing you a line. I ask this, with the greater diffidence, as I come soliciting your favor and knowing that I have no claim upon it. However, I am emboldened to proceed, feeling conscious you will have no objection to afford me your influence in the small matter, in which I now ask it. A combination of unfortunate circumstances, *has made me poor*. Such as the robbery of my office, &c. I am now an applicant at the office of the Surveyor General for a surveying contract. I have learned that you are known

* In 1832, Wm. L. D. Ewing was a senator in the Legislature from the District of Fayette, Marrion, and Clay counties. Zadoc Casey, who was elected lieutenant-governor at the same time that John Reynolds was elected governor, in August, 1830, was elected a member of Congress in August, 1832. He resigned his seat in the Senate, and General Ewing was chosen to preside over the Senate in his place. Two years afterward, Governor Reynolds was also chosen to Congress, not only for the full term, but to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. Charles Slade, to serve out the term of Mr. Slade, to expire March 4th, 1835. In order to accept the position of congressman in Mr. Slade's place, Reynolds was obliged to resign as governor and go to Washington. Ewing then, by virtue of his position as president of the Senate, became governor, and held the position for fifteen days, until Joseph Duncan was inaugurated, December 3, 1834. General Ewing was elected United States senator in 1835, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Elias Kent Kane, who died December 12th, 1835.

personally to Colo. McRea, and if this should be the fact, and you have no reluctance in giving me your support by letter of recommendation, I shall feel greatly obliged to you. I feel a great degree of anxiety on the subject and it all proceeds from a laudable solicitude to rid myself of pecuniary embarrassment.

I am well aware, Governor, that any thing I could say would neither be flattering or interesting to you, but might on the present occasion be improperly construed. I do assure you so far as yourself and all your acts are concerned, I have the highest admiration and respect for them; and I am fully persuaded that should Adams or Jackson be made the president (and of that there is an absolute certainty) you will be placed in a more exalted situation than you have ever occupied. But if that should never be the case, your *old* friends and hundreds who may be called your *new* friends look to you with utmost confidence for our next Governor or Senator in the U. S. Congress to succeed Thomas. I readily admit that the office of Governor of Illinois is not such an one as I should like to see you fill or that it has been much dignified by the present, and much less by the former incumbents, but it would afford the people an opportunity of manifesting their confidence in an old and able public servant.

Excuse me, sir, for these perhaps unwelcome speculations, for I do assure there is no man in this State, who more ardently hopes for what is here expressed than myself. I have the honor to be, sir,

Your friend and serv't, WM. LEE D. EWING.

The Hon'l N. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

(Fac-simile Letter of Felix Grundy)

Dear Sir Nashville Febr. 20th 1825

[Fac-simile Letter of Felix Grundy]

Dear Sir, Nashville, Febry 20th 1825

I returned home on last night & set out to a distant Court in a few minutes — I shall on next Friday week, leave this place for Edwardsville — I go on account of the late misfortune of Mr Winchester among other reasons inducing me to visit your place, is the pleasure it will afford me to see & converse freely with you — I hope you will be in Edwardsville on the Saturday before the 2d Monday in March, y r friend

Felix Grundy

LETTER OF FELIX GRUNDY.*

NASHVILLE, Feb'y 20th, 1825.

DEAR SIR:—I returned home on last night and set out to a distant Court in a few minutes. I shall on next Friday week, leave this place for Edwardsville. I go on account of the late misfortune of Mr. Winchester, among other reasons inducing me to visit your place, is the pleasure it will afford me to see and converse freely with you. I hope you will be in Edwardsville on the Saturday before the 2nd Monday in March.

Y'r friend,

FELIX GRUNDY.

The Honorable NINIAN EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

* Felix Grundy had a long and distinguished public life, both in Kentucky and Tennessee. He first served as a member of the Kentucky constitutional convention in 1799; was a member of the State Legislature for five years, and was afterward chief-justice of the State. Removing to Tennessee in 1807, he was elected to Congress from the Nashville District in 1811. Resigning in 1814, he served for four years as a member of the Tennessee House of Representatives. In 1830, he was elected a United States senator from the State of Tennessee, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Hon. John H. Eaton. He resigned his seat in 1838, to become attorney-general of the United States in the cabinet of Mr. VanBuren.

I heard him make a law argument before the Supreme Court of the United States in March, 1840. He was a great lawyer and a distinguished statesman. No man of his time had so great a reputation as a criminal lawyer in the West and Southwest as Mr. Grundy. This letter, which is lithographed, refers to one of the most celebrated criminal cases ever in our State. The Mr. Winchester referred to, who had married the daughter of Hon. Benjamin Stephenson—who was the second delegate in Congress from Illinois—had killed a Mr. Smith. The trial excited a great interest at the time. Winchester was acquitted. Mr. Grundy died at Nashville, Tennessee, December 19th, 1840, only five days after he had been again elected a senator from Tennessee. It was on the 17th of February, 1841, that Grundy County, in this State, was organized and named after him.

LETTER OF JOHN SCOTT.*

STE. GENEVIEVE, MISSOURI, June 1st, 1825.

DEAR SIR:—I really stand in need of Coke on Littleton. You have had mine from the time you lived on your farm near Prairie Du Rocher. It is in three volumns; was then quite new. You will greatly oblige me if you will send it to Thomas McKnight at St. Louis, that I may procure it from there. Do not fail to do this immediately.

I also want to know how the property at the River is situated. Mr. Wiggins seems to be in the full, quiet, and undisturbed possession of the whole; how is this? and will you make out for me the deed for my interest, and

* John Scott was a man of great prominence and distinction, not only in the Territory of Missouri, but for some years after its admission into the Union as a state. He was a native of Virginia, and a graduate of Princeton College in 1805. He commenced the practise of law at St. Genevieve, Missouri, a short time afterward. He was elected as the third delegate to Congress from the Territory of Missouri. Edward Hempstead was the first delegate and Rufus Easton the second, both natives of Connecticut and men of great ability. The competitor of Mr. Scott in 1816 was Mr. Easton. The certificate was given to Scott, but Easton contested his election. The committee reported in favor of Easton, but the House overruled the report and declared the seat vacant. At the next election, in 1817, Scott was again elected, and served until March 3d, 1821, when Missouri having been admitted as a state, he was elected to Congress, and took his seat in the House of Representatives, December 3d, 1821. He was twice re-elected, closing his term of service March 3d, 1827.

In the election for president in 1824, there being no choice by the people, Mr. Scott, as the only representative from the State of Missouri, gave the vote of that State to Mr. Adams, in the House of Representatives. This vote gave great offence to the people of Missouri, although it was entirely justifiable under the circumstances. It, however, ended his political career in the State. He was greatly distinguished as a lawyer and as a man of the highest character for honor and probity. I well recollect meeting him when he was on a visit to Galena, in the summer of 1841. His youngest daughter, Miss Emily Scott, married Samuel M. Wilson, Esq., formerly of Galena and now one of California's ablest lawyers and the leader of the San Francisco bar.

send it to me, as you promised to do. I would be glad to hear from you on this subject as early as convenient.

Yours, truly,

JOHN SCOTT.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF RICHARD M. YOUNG.*

KASKASKIA, July 8th, 1825.

DEAR SIR:—During my tour on the last circuit I was frequently asked whether you would not consent to be a Candidate for the office of Governor at the next Election? To which I replied that I thought you would be provided that the People desired it. There seems at this time to be an almost unanimous acclamation in your favour against the pretensions of any other person that might offer against you, in all the Southern Counties and such is the state of feeling towards you that your most inveterate enemies below (who are very few), are compelled to admit that in the Counties of Union, Alexander, Johnson, and Pope, you would get five Votes to one against any Candidate

* Richard M. Young was a prominent man in this State from quite an early period. He was first elected circuit judge by the general assembly in January, 1825, and holding that position at the time this letter was written. He held the office of circuit judge for a very long period. In 1837, he was elected to the United States Senate for the term of six years. At the expiration of his term of service as senator, in 1843, he was made a judge of the Supreme Court of the State, and served until he resigned, in 1847, to become a commissioner of the general land office at Washington. He never returned to the State to live, and died in Washington several years since.

This letter is interesting as showing the sentiment of the people at that period in regard to Governor Edwards, and which resulted in his election as governor the succeeding year.

that could be brought out against you. From my own knowledge which is not limited in these Counties I can safely assure you that you would not lose out of the 1200 votes that they will give more than 150 and it is immaterial who opposes you. The people in that quarter took great interest in your contest with Crawford, and the result of the late Election in those Counties for Elector of President and Vice President of the United States shows conclusively to whom the Victory was awarded.—And the late offer to retain Mr. Crawford in the Treasury department by President Adams has excited great indignity, and they know no better way of showing it than by bringing you forward at this particular time in order that the world may be convinced as to the estimation in which your public conduct has been held by the people of your own Country. Doct. Alexander was at that time a popular man and yet in those four Counties he had but two votes. This proves in what estimation Crawford was held and it all resulted from your exposition of his public conduct. The Citizens of these Counties are all Jacksonites and they believe that great injustice has been done you by Mr. Adams in offering to reappoint Crawford and they are determined that you shall be their Candidate let what may happen. George Woolf and the old Sheriff of Union, George Hunsaker as well as many others of the leading men of that County, Jesse Echols, Esq., of Alexander, your old friend Judge Finney of Johnson, and Squire Bridgers, late of the Legislature, and many others of all those Counties have requested me to say to you that nothing would give them more pleasure than to hear of your being

before the People and if so that you have no danger to apprehend from that quarter, I hope therefore that we may not be disappointed in our expectations.

I am very respectfully your friend,

RICHARD M. YOUNG.

LETTER OF GENERAL SAM. HOUSTON.

NASHVILLE, 14th July, 1825.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 16th ultimo was rec'd a few days since, and business alone has prevented my answering it until now. I regret that my recollection of dates and circumstances refered to by you is not more distinct. But so far as I can recollect I will detail them to you; with the correction of a mistake which you have fallen into. Gen'l Jackson was not at the Ball at Alexandria, but requested me to make his apology to the managers, which I did. It was his intention to have attended, but the evening was very unfavorable, and he did not go down.

I recollect distinctly to have called on you at Mrs. Queen's boarding house, in the back part of it, and found you in bed, and I thought very ill, you appeared almost helpless, and to suffer much pain. When I had sat a few minutes conversing on the subject of your indisposition and confinement, you stated to me that you had rec'd a St. Louis Paper and on expressing my anxiety to see an article in it of which you had spoken, you asked me to hand your hat to you. I did so, and from among other papers con-

tained in it you took the paper refer'd to and gave it to me. Whether I read the article alluded to, or not I do not recollect. I think at the time I was on my way to see Gen'l Jackson, but what I afterwards did with the paper I do not remember. On what day these things took place I do not pretend to say—the impression upon my mind is that it was soon after the 22nd of February but I can not certainly state. For the reason that I have not from that time to the present, ever reflected upon the subject. Some days after my first visit I called to see you, and found you in the front part of Mrs. Queen's building, and your health, as I thought much improved, but not entirely good. On my second visit I recollect there were some gentlemen present but who they were I can not confidently state—Mr. D. P. Cook I think was one of the company.

Very respectfully your most ob't ser't,

Sam. Houston

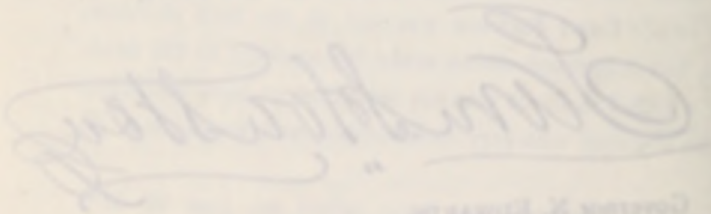
Governor N. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF NINIAN EDWARDS TO HENRY CLAY.*

BELLEVILLE, Illinois, July 18th, 1825.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

DEAR SIR: * * * A favorite object, and indeed a



political hobby, that supersedes all others in this State and Missouri is a canal to connect Lake Michigan and the Illinois river.* Nothing could sustain the administration or its friends in those two states so effectually, as its countenancing this measure. Connecting the waters of Lake Erie and the Wabash is also a desirable object in a part of this State and Indiana. Ohio is executing a similar project. Now, do I venture too far, in suggesting that it might be very judicious in the President, without descending to any particular case, to introduce into his message to Congress some sentiment favorable to the connection of our great lakes with the Atlantic and Western waters? This might probably satisfy the friends of all these different projects. I know it would contribute greatly to the support of the friends of the administration. I could say much more, and am half-inclined to do it, but there are considerations which admonish me to forbear.

As however, I have alluded to my being a candidate for Gov. I will inclose for your inspection, one, among the multitude of letters I am constantly receiving from different parts of the State on that subject. This is from Judge Young who is decidedly one of our most popular characters. I will only observe that the people of the District he refers to, actually consider me a friend of Mr. Adams. You will please to return the letter.

Dr. John Todd of Edwardsville is and long has been a very warm friend to you. He was the candidate in your

* This extract fully illustrates the interest which Governor Edwards then took in the canal, and his desire to get a favorable recognition of the subject from President John Quincy Adams.

favor in this District. He is a very popular, and a very worthy and intelligent man. I should be very happy if you should find it in your power to serve him. Vacancies in office are frequently occurring which would, I am sure, be very acceptable to him, though I never have spoken a word to him on the subject. Yours truly,

N. EDWARDS.

Hon. H. CLAY.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK.*

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 10th, 1825.

DEAR SIR:— * * * You will see that I am placed on the Committee of Ways and Means and I am told that Stephenson is mad at my being placed above him. However all is going on so far smooth enough, and I hope we shall do very well. All however as yet is conjecture.

Mr. Adams seems as friendly as ever and I have lost no share of my confidence in him.

John Randolph has been elected to the Senate from Virginia.

I have been four hours writing this letter, so much have

* This letter, an extract of which is published, was written just after the commencement of the session of Congress, in December, 1825. The "Mr. Stephenson", who is represented as being mad because Mr. Cook had been placed above him on the committee of ways and means, was Andrew Stevenson of Virginia, who was afterward for six years speaker of the House of Representatives, ending his service in 1834. Mr. Stevenson was afterward appointed minister to England, and held that position from 1836 to 1841. Hon. John White Stevenson, ex-member of Congress, ex-United-States senator, and ex-governor of Kentucky, was the son of Andrew Stevenson.

Mr. Andrew Stevenson married Miss Sarah Coles, daughter of Colonel John Coles of Albemarle County, Virginia, and the sister of Edward Coles, the second governor of the State of Illinois.

I been interrupted by company and if I should not get a chance to write to Julia before the mail goes out, you can tell her the reason. Affectionally,

D. P. COOK.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF NINIAN EDWARDS TO A. G. S. WIGHT.*

BELLEVILLE, August 19th, 1825.

DEAR SIR:—I have just received your letter of the 14th inst. and lose not a moment in replying to it.

Whatever may have been the conceptions you had formed from my description, at Vandalia, last winter, of the servants I have since sold you, I well know there was no intention on my part of deceiving you or any one else, and I should suppose your finding Charles "so much better than you expected" sufficient to free me from any such suspicion, since as he was capable of being the most valuable, if I had intended to deceive, I must have acted most strangely, in representing him so much worse, and the others so much better, than they respectively deserved.

* This letter revives the memories of strange times in Illinois, when colored persons were held to service, and those services subjects of transfer. It was a qualified condition of slavery, which was put an end to in 1845 by a decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Jarrot *vs.* Jarrot, reported in the 2d Gilman.

Colonel Wight was an early settler at the Fever-River lead-mines, and resided a long time at Galena, and died there many years ago. In 1836, he was elected a senator to the Legislature for the senatorial district composed of Jo Daviess, Winnebago, Ogle, Rock Island, and Mercer counties.

The truth is that I said nothing then, which I did not at that time, and which I do not now believe to be true.

You remark that "you are sorry to say also that Maria by no means tallies with the description you had of her, she is not a first-rate cook, neither is she any part of a sempstress." I have read this part of your letter to several ladies now at my house, all well acquainted with her, who are equally with myself surprised at it. She had been my only cook for seven years before I sold her to you, during which time, I have lived pretty well, and entertained much company, all of whom I believe would agree with me, that she deserves to be considered in this part of the world, at least, as a first-rate cook. The ladies insist upon it that she is an excellent sempstress, and I know she has made and ruffled my shirts as well as I have ever been able to find any other person capable of doing. I can also prove that she has done almost all kinds of fine work, and that she can cut out and make her own dresses as well as any lady in this part of the country. It is true she has not done much sewing for the last seven years, & it is probable her present situation may prevent her from discharging her duties with her usual ability. She is however a faithful and capable servant whom no money could have got from me, if she had chosen to separate from her husband, and so far from having endeavored to enhance her value by any erroneous description she has ten years more to serve than I represented to you at Vandalia.

I could have had no motive to deceive by any description I gave of these servants, because I did not suppose any one would have purchased them, without seeing them and judging for himself.

As however the situation of your family prevented your coming yourself for that purpose, and as you say you are disappointed in your expectations and would not, if you could have come yourself, have been a purchaser because those servants "by no means suit you," I can not think of holding you to your bargain. I would rather lose myself than insist upon a contract under such circumstances, with any man more especially with a gentleman and friend whom I so highly esteem and respect. If therefore you choose to transmit to me by the return mail, the transfers I made to you of these servants, I will promptly return to you the consideration I received for them, and in the mean time you may hold them in your possession as security for my compliance with this proposition.

I would far rather return you the whole consideration I received, than accede to your proposal of transferring to you Nelson and Ellen upon the grounds you urge, because by doing so it would be a tacit admission at least that I had intended to impose on you, which is a thing I am incapable of doing with any man upon this earth.

Very respectfully, I am, Sir, your friend and ob't s't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Col. A. G. S. WIGHT.

LETTERS OF DANIEL P. COOK.*

WASHINGTON CITY, Jan'y 28th, 1826.

DEAR GOV.: * * * The Judiciary Bill will pass, and I now am inclined to think that Pope's chance to be

* The appointment of judge, which is spoken of in this letter, did go to Ohio, but not until March 7, 1829, when General Jackson appointed John

Judge is not very good. It will, most probably, go to Ohio. Who it will be is not certain of course. The Pres't refuses to talk with any one on the subject until the law

McLean judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. McLean had served through both terms of Mr. Monroe's administration, and through the one term of the administration of John Quincy Adams as postmaster-general. On the accession of General Jackson to the presidency, March 4th, 1829, he invited Mr. McLean to retain his position, and, on his declining, tendered to him the war and navy departments, neither of which he was willing to accept. He was then appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as above stated.

Judge McLean had a long, honorable, and a most useful political career. He was equally distinguished as a member of Congress from Ohio, as judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio, as commissioner of the general land office, as a cabinet officer under Presidents Monroe and Adams, and as judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. A strong personal and political friendship existed between Judge McLean and Mr. Lincoln. The latter strongly urged the nomination of Judge McLean for the presidency by the Republican National Convention, held in Philadelphia in the summer of 1856. Just before the meeting of the convention, Mr. Lincoln wrote me at Washington, begging that my republican colleagues in the House and myself go over to Philadelphia during the sitting of the convention, and do what we could for the nomination of Judge McLean. Nothing, however, could stem that tide which swept Fremont into the nomination, resulting in the defeat and discredit of the republican party.

After Fremont had been nominated by this convention, William L. Dayton of New Jersey was nominated for vice-president. The friends of McLean, having been defeated in effecting his nomination for president, brought forward the name of Abraham Lincoln for the nomination for vice-president, and he received 110 votes against 259 votes for Mr. Dayton. The history of that convention was never fully understood by the American people. I was present, not as a member, but as an interested spectator. The nomination of Fremont was a set-up job from the beginning, and all the opposition which was offered to that nomination by many of the most influential, judicious, and patriotic men of the party could avail nothing.

During the session of the convention, I was invited to attend a meeting of the Pennsylvania delegation. The venerable ex-Governor Joseph Ritner was chairman of the delegation, and Hon. Thaddeus Stevens was one of the leading members. Mr. Stevens was a great friend of Judge McLean, and was using all his powerful influence to secure his nomination. There were a large number of the friends of Fremont in the delegation, and I never heard

shall pass. It is rumored that McLean will probably be appointed and it is further rumored that I am to be offered the Post-Office Dep't. Neither event however do I think

a more feeling and eloquent appeal than Mr. Stevens made to them at this meeting to give their support to Judge McLean. His knowledge of Pennsylvania politics, and his great experience in political affairs entitled his opinions to the greatest possible weight. I never heard a man speak with more feeling or in more persuasive accents. He closed his speech with the assertion that the nomination of Fremont would not only lose the State of Pennsylvania to the republicans, but that the party would be defeated in the presidential election. The election verified his prediction, for Pennsylvania voted for Buchanan, and he was elected president in November, 1856.

All chances for the election of a republican president in 1856 were deliberately thrown away by the Philadelphia convention, and, it might be said, in the face of light and knowledge. In the state of feeling then existing in the country, Judge McLean, or any republican statesman of national reputation, could have easily been elected. The first time I saw Mr. Dayton, after the defeat of the Fremont-and-Dayton ticket, I told him what I believed then, and what I believe now, that if the ticket had been reversed he would have been elected president of the United States.

There was one incident in the convention which is not likely to be forgotten by those who were present. William B. Archer was a delegate from Illinois to this convention. He had been long in public life, and his residence was at Marshall, Clark County, one of the original Wabash counties. Mr. Archer commenced his service in the legislature as early as 1824, and served eight terms, both as representative and senator; closing his legislative career as a member of the house of representatives from Clark County in 1848. He was also one of the first canal-commissioners in the State. A man of good education and much intelligence, he was very plain and unpretending in his appearance; tall and gaunt, and of kindly and genial manners, and always possessing great personal popularity; a whig in politics, and with so long a service in the legislature he had become a great friend and a passionate admirer of Mr. Lincoln. There were between them many points of resemblance, both in character and personal appearance. Mr. Archer was a candidate for Congress in 1854 against Hon. James C. Allen, who received the certificate. Archer contested Allen's seat, but was not admitted. He was made one of the vice-presidents of the convention and sat on the platform. When the name of his old friend, Mr. Lincoln, was brought forward as candidate for vice-president, it was impossible for him to restrain himself. He jumped from his chair at least three feet, and gave a whoop which resounded throughout the hall, creating great laughter and applause.

probable. Mr. Clay told me that the President wishes before long to send me abroad. This I shall prefer, but would not like to do anything until I am elected again and I wish a large majority if it can be had.

There are several things of yours that I have not had time to attend to, but will before long.

The influenza has had from twenty to forty members of Congress in close quarters for some time, I have suffered much myself but less than most. I have been able every day to be in my seat. I am now nearly free from it.

I do not write to Julia this week. Let her see this letter if you think proper.

Give my love to Mrs. Edwards, and tell Julia to write to me frequently. Yours affectionately,

DAN'L P. COOK.

N. EDWARDS, Esq.,
Belleville, Ill.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 6th, 1826.

DEAR GOV.: * * * The debate on the Constitution is now progressing, and unless the House become tired of it, it will last as long as the Missouri question did. The Judiciary Bill is suspended in the Senate, on a report of the Committee, recommending the union of Ohio and Kentucky in one district, and the States of Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana in another. There is much excitement on the subject in Ohio and Kentucky. They oppose the amendment and say they will defeat the Bill.

* Very few people of the present day are aware of the unavailing effort that Judge Nathaniel Pope made at this time to become judge of the circuit court of the new circuit then proposed to be established.

Pope is here working away for the Judgeship, but everything is in a state of uncertainty.

Truly, yours,

D. P. COOK.

Hon. N. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF DANIEL P. COOK TO JULIA COOK.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 25th, 1826.

MY DEAR WIFE: * * * You will see that this letter is so far for your father, and I write to you and him together to save time which in this busy period is important. I continue very well and your last letter telling me that you and John* are also well, and that he can walk adds to my good spirits, and the only drawback on them is that I do not expect to be at home before the middle of June or thereabout. The business of the Country is such that an honest attention to it, will not allow us to adjourn before the first of that month or thereabout. I hope you will have removed to Edwardsville by the first of June if you intend to go during the summer. It is my firm intention to bring you on with me next winter, and with that purpose expressed you will, with the advice of your father be able to decide whether you will go there or not.

Give my love to your mother and all the family.

Kiss my boy and take good care of him.

Your affectionate husband,

D. P. COOK.

* The boy "John" referred to, is General John Cook, who was the only son and only child of Daniel P. Cook.

LETTER OF NINIAN EDWARDS TO HENRY EDDY.*

BELLEVILLE, June 29th, 1826.

DEAR EDDY:—I have just returned from a tour into the Military tract, having passed through Bond, Montgomery, Sangamo, Morgan, Green, and Madison, and it really does appear to me that I shall get immense majorities through the whole of these counties. The public senti-

* Governor Edwards was at this time making his canvass for governor, which was one of the ablest and most successful canvasses ever made in the State. A most powerful combination was made against him by all the odds and ends of the different factions, but single-handed and alone he met and vanquished them all. My old friend, the late Dr. Horatio Newhall of Galena, who in his early life lived in Southern Illinois, and who knew Governor Edwards well, often told me that he was one of the most successful canvassers he ever knew. He completely reversed the mode of electioneering at that day. He did not deem it necessary to put on ragged clothes, wear a dirty shirt, drink whisky, and go unshaven, in order to obtain the votes of the people. Dressed in the highest style of the fashion of the day, with his broadcloth coat and ruffled shirt, driven in his carriage by his colored coachman, the very people who it was supposed would vote against him, became his friends, and considered it a high honor to have the privilege of voting for such a high-toned and elegant gentleman.

The two principal candidates at this election for governor were Ninian Edwards and Thomas Sloo, Jr. Sloo was a prominent man of his time, and a resident of Hamilton County. He was a member of the Senate in what is known as the "Convention Legislature" in 1822–24, a convention man, and a pro-slavery man. He was also a member of the Senate in the succeeding legislature, 1824–26. The contest was practically narrowed down to Edwards and Sloo. Adolphus Frederick Hubbard of Shawneetown, who was lieutenant-governor at the time Edward Coles was governor, and who attempted to usurp the gubernatorial office while Governor Coles was absent from the State, took the stump as an independent candidate. He only received an insignificant number of votes—563 in all. William Kinney ran on the ticket with Sloo for lieutenant-governor, while Samuel H. Thompson was on the ticket with Edwards for lieutenant-governor. Kinney was elected over Thompson by a plurality of 336 votes. The contest between Edwards and Sloo was a very close one—Edwards only coming out seventy votes ahead of Sloo. In the interest of the history of that election, the vote in detail of all the counties in the State at that time is given:

STATE VOTE, THIRD ELECTION, FIRST MONDAY IN AUGUST (7), 1826.

Counties.	Governor: Ninian Edwards.	Governor: Thomas Sloo, Jr.	Lieut.-Governor: William Kinney.	Lieut.-Governor: Samuel H. Thompson.
ADAMS,	23	59	9	69
ALEXANDER,	93	50	71	59
BOND,	104	57	67	198
CLARK,	55	90	20	4
CALHOUN,	73		31	41
CLAY,	2	58	2	11
CLINTON,	95	95	105	75
CRAWFORD,	180	200	205	135
EDGAR,	237	41	88	86
EDWARDS,	185	1	125	51
FAYETTE,	70	222	190	168
FRANKLIN,	90	198	257	68
FULTON,	76	60	13	111
GALLATIN,	380	285	398	327
GREEN,	406	210	252	325
HAMILTON,	6	279	204	68
JACKSON,	137	148	209	54
JEFFERSON,	60	111	120	50
JOHNSON,	95	64	75	
LAWRENCE,	217	157	127	202
MADISON,	513	252	354	374
MARION,	34	43	44	34
MONROE,	152	189	189	124
MONTGOMERY,	80	75	73	68
MORGAN,	330	381	202	432
PEORIA,	239	106	47	247
PIKE,	4	126	83	55
POPE,	64	6	49	18
RANDOLPH,	189	294	340	133
SANGAMON,	724	303	309	688
SCHUYLER,	9	52	14	31
ST. CLAIR,	349	427	486	262
UNION,	172	284	281	152
VERMILION,	32	162	40	34
WABASH,	283	21	16	282
WASHINGTON,	63	31	40	49
WAYNE,	41	171	198	59
WHITE,	181	455	423	238
Total,	6043	5973	5754	5388

For Governor, Adolphus F. Hubbard received 563 votes. For Lieut.-Governor, James Adams received 262 votes. Total vote of State, 12,579.

ment is so strong and unequivocal in my favor that I cannot believe opposition would be persevered in, if it were not intended to make some attack upon me, or resort to some stratagem against me too late to be fairly met. As I shall have afforded my enemies fair opportunities of meeting me face to face in all except three very small counties, the meanness of their stratagems must be the more obvious. But my situation gives them the advantage if resorting to them. I have already been attacked during my absence in the Vandalia and Kaskaskia papers. To-morrow again I leave home, having appointments to address the people in different counties till the 22d July. No doubt my absence will again be taken advantage of. I am going down the Mississippi, up the Ohio, &c.

Truly yours,

N. EDWARDS.

HENRY EDDY, Esq.,
Shawneetown.

In the contest between Coles and Phillips for governor four years previous, Coles only had a plurality of fifty votes over Phillips.

Henry Eddy was an early lawyer at Shawneetown, and a man of ability and high character. He was a whig in politics, and always in a minority at that time in that part of the State. I do not recollect that he ever held any political office. He was elected judge in 1835, but resigned the position a few weeks thereafter. I well recollect meeting him when attending the Supreme Court at Springfield, between 1844 and 1849. He was a clean-cut, intelligent, and agreeable gentleman, and much preferred being a good lawyer than a poor politician.

CHAPTER XIV.

Letter of Duff Green; suggests that Daniel P. Cook be sent as minister to Colombia: letter of John Marshall of Shawneetown; expresses deep feeling at the defeat of Daniel P. Cook; considers Gov. Edwards partially responsible for the result; admonishes the governor "that prudence is as necessary to success as talents"; letter of Duff Green; intelligent outline of the political outlook when the letter was written; Mr. Clay's visit to Kentucky an "abortion"; letter of N. Edwards to Henry Clay; explains the defeat of Mr. Cook for Congress; uncommitted in regard to the presidential election; letter of S. Simpson; interesting speculations on the subject of the presidential election; letter of N. Edwards to Henry J. Mills; disdains the aid of combinations and defies their power; letter of Duff Green; presidential speculations; letter of Sidney Breese; his modest ambition at that time; another letter of Gov. Edwards to Henry J. Mills, in respect of the investigation of the official conduct of the officers of the branch bank at Edwardsville; letter of Daniel Webster to William Wirt; letter of Joseph M. Street; his description of Peoria in 1827; Mr. Street an early settler in Shawneetown; large number of prominent citizens of Illinois who resided in that town in an early day.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.*

LEXINGTON, 1st Sept., 1826.

DEAR SIR:—I have just seen John Pope, he is now well convinced that it will not do for him to separate from the

* The Anderson referred to, was at that time our minister plenipotentiary to Colombia. He was not dead at the time this letter was written, but died two months subsequently. It does not appear that Mr. Cook was an applicant for this position.

great body of his friends in the West. He approves of the idea suggested in my last and intends to take the first opportunity offered in his official station to show his colors and enter the lists. I hear that Anderson is dead. Let Cook write immediately to Mr. Adams and demand as matter of right that he be appointed his successor. Mr. Adams will scarce deny him and if nominated I will rely upon Calhoun and my friends in the Senate to get him through without opposition. You however must take your stand on the amendment.

The mail is closing. Yours, sincerely,

D. GREEN.

Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF JOHM MARSHALL.*

SHAWNEETOWN, 2nd Sept., 1826.

DEAR SIR: * * * The defeat of Mr. Cook forbids

* John Marshall was the president of the Shawneetown bank, an able man, and quite prominent in his time. He never appears to have been in public life in this State, but was elected to the first House of Representatives from Gallatin County in 1818, but resigned his seat. The political portion of his letter to Governor Edwards is only part published. He writes under the empire of a good deal of feeling in regard to the defeat of Daniel P. Cook for Congress, which he regarded "as a death-blow, not only to him and his friends, but to the character and best interests of the State." This shows the deep hold which Mr. Cook then had on men of the character of Mr. Marshall. He seems to have thought that Mr. Cook suffered from the manner in which Governor Edwards made his gubernatorial canvass in that year (1826). He very frankly tells the governor so, and expresses his astonishment that he was elected, and as an old friend admonishes him "that prudence is as necessary to success and often more so than talents." Mr. Marshall was mistaken; it was the management of Governor Edwards in his canvass, and the position he took with regard to the State banks, and other questions of interest to the people, that secured his triumphant election.

that I should congratulate you on your success. I had his election more at heart than all the rest. The mortification I feel at his defeat receives but little alleviation by your success, for I look upon it as a death-blow not only to him and his friends but to the character and best interests of the State. On the first appearance of *Tyro* I anticipated the storm that was to follow and immediately addressed the paper containing it to you at Vienna. I was not mistaken, it was a fatal storm. You must be aware now that the freedom with which you commented on the management of the finances, State Bank, &c., however just was nevertheless very impolitick. It arrayed almost every man that had been in the Legislature since 1821 and all the Bank and Circuit Court interest against you, which, by a little management aided by the cry of "a family of rulers" was unfortunately brought to bear on Mr. Cook. On viewing the ground, over which you have traveled, it is matter of astonishment that you were elected at all. I am sure no man could have succeeded two years ago on it. What's past may afford a lesson for the future, and let your old friend just add by way of conclusion that *prudence* is as necessary to success, and often more so, than talents.

Truly, yours,

J. MARSHALL.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.*

LOUISVILLE, 6th Sept., 1826.

DEAR SIR:—It was with great regret I left Illinois without seeing you, the more so as I had a particular and confidential message to you from some of your old political friends. I however had a long conversation with Mr. Mitchel, and explained to him my view of the course you ought to take. You are now p edged at the proper time to come out against Mr. Crawford. The public expect it at your hands. It would seem to me that your best way would be to wait the rising of the coming storm. I shall endeavor to explain Mr. Clay's policy towards the Crawford party and prepare all Gen'l Jackson's friends to receive your exposition of Mr. Crawford's conduct toward you. I shall do this by proving that Mr. Clay's great object was to conciliate Crawford's friends under the hope that he would either die or be excluded from the house; in which case with his (Crawford's) interest and the form of bargain he would secure his own election. The friends of Jackson are prepared to receive my exposition of this subject and that will prepare them for yours. If Jackson triumphs *you will find him your friend.* I have seen him and conversed with him, and I know that he thinks better of Mr. Cook than of any of the party who voted against him, and he believes that that vote was given against your advice. It requires but little reflection to satisfy *my* mind that Jackson and Jackson's friends are the only persons on

* This letter of Duff Green is a wonderfully intelligent outline of the political outlook at that time by one of the most shrewd and far-seeing political managers of that period.

whom you can rely for that moral triumph which I know will be more gratifying to you and to your real friends than political elevation. In Mr. Calhoun you have a warm, consistent friend and *advocate*. You are not expected to take an active part, your present situation would forbid it, but there are indications which may sufficiently identify you with the Jackson interest of your State and which you will excuse me for saying *ought* not to be omitted. Jackson's prospects of success are daily growing better and better. There is a movement now making in New York, which will be almost certain to give him much the largest part of that State, perhaps all, for it is by no means certain that the electoral law will remain as it is. Clinton is known to be prepared to take part with Jackson, he is already spoken of as Vice President, and I know that many of Mr. Calhoun's friends would prefer to see him in the house. How could the administration resist such a combination, borne to the earth as they are with the weight of their iniquitous contract? They can not. You will find Ohio true, and that Mr. Adams will be left with New England. Under such a state of things your course must accord with your feelings and if you take occasion of your first message to identify yourself with the people by recommending an amendment of the Constitution you are safe.

You may feel assured that you will lose nothing by my removal to the city; that affectionate kindness with which I have always regarded you is not abated and next to my own immediate family I shall always rejoice to serve you. I know that you think me sanguine, but my means of information are good and I can form as correct conclusions

as any other *Sanguine* man. I have been seldom much deceived in the people and it is the people who are now, in a voice of thunder, commanding their leaders to their posts.

The old and new Court question is already lost in this State. There was but one paper in the State in favor of Jackson during the late election—The Advertiser. There soon will be two in Louisville, one in Frankfort (The Argus), two in Lexington, one in Columbia, and one is contemplated in Bowling Green. There are also now one in Paris and one in Mt. Sterling, and I am induced to believe there will be one in George Town and one in Danville. The new Court, with scarce one exception, are for Jackson and the strong men of the old Court party are more than divided in his favor. Mr. Clay's visit to the state was a complete abortion. William Pope travelled in company with him, and no one would have known that it was Mr. Clay except by his dejection. No parades, no visits, no marked attention except by a few interested personal friends in Lexington and a few politicians in two or three other places. You may rest assured that he is as low as his worst enemy could wish him to be.

Yours, sincerely,

D. GREEN.

Write to me fully, *it will be safe.*

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF NINIAN EDWARDS TO HENRY CLAY.*

BELLEVILLE, Illinois, 21st September, 1826.

DEAR SIR:—However much we may have sometimes differed in politics, and notwithstanding I have been injuriously affected by your course in one particular instance, I have ever regarded you as a magnanimous foe and generous friend. And while I have nothing to charge you with that was not fairly allowable on political considerations, I can not forget that I am indebted to you for some acts of friendship, which entitle you to my gratitude. Though this consideration might not be sufficient to control my political sentiments or even predelictions, I can assure you, I must undergo a radical change, if it will not always restrain me from partaking or co-operating in that species of hostility which you are daily encountering. I have fairly, openly and as efficiently as I could, opposed your views, when I did not approve of them. I should probably do so again under similar circumstances, for I would not exchange the consciousness of independence for the best boon that any administration ever had the power to bestow. And hence it is that, while I am always ready to listen to the advice, I never have permitted the opinions or wishes of my best friends to control me against my own convictions, nor do I believe I ever shall do so. In any opposi-

* This letter, written only a short time after Mr. Edwards had been elected governor, contains a frank exposition of the sentiments of Governor Edwards in respect of Mr. Clay and the presidential question generally. Quite a large portion of the letter is devoted to an explanation of the defeat of Mr. Cook for Congress, at the same election at which Governor Edwards was elected governor.

tion to you however, as I never have, so I never expect to predicate it upon any want of confidence in your honor and integrity, or upon any ground inconsistent with a high personal regard for you.

With these frank remarks I take the liberty of addressing you confidentially, in regard to matters on which it is natural to expect you to feel some desire to be correctly informed.

You have doubtless long since heard of Mr. Cook's defeat, and seen it repeatedly attributed to the predominancy of Gen'l Jackson's interest in this State. But although the Genl's interest is considerable, and was not without its effect upon Mr. Cook's election, I can assure you it is very far from being predominant, at this time, and it never can be so if his most influential friends continue to oppose our canal. For this measure has been so long ridden by our politicans as a hobby, and the people have been taught to expect so much from it, that no man could sustain himself in this State, and oppose it, or even support any distinguished individual suspected of opposition to it.

How then, you may ask, did Mr. Cook lose his election? I will tell you. Both he and his friends felt too secure. None of them, with the exception of myself, could be induced to believe there was the least danger. His opponent did nothing else for many months previously, but ride through the State and visit the people at their own houses. Mr. Cook was confined by sickness and could only visit very few counties. The greatest possible efforts were made to turn to both his and my disadvantage the circumstance of the father-in-law and the son-in-law being

before the people at the same time, for the two highest offices in their gift. But the circulation of thousands of handbills ingeniously contrived to produce the impression that both he and I had voted against the reduction of the price of public land, at a period too late to be answered or counteracted, had far more influence than all other considerations united. A strong proof that his defeat was not produced by his vote on the Presidential election is to be found in the fact, that in the strong Jackson counties (as they are called) which he visited he obtained majorities. Gallatin, Pope, Green, and Morgan are amongst the counties most highly distinguished by their partiality to Gen'l Jackson, and there are no four counties in the State that would yield so large a majority, yet Mr. Cook obtained decided majorities in all of them, while in some of the strongest administration counties he got scarcely any support. Neither Mr. Cook's friends nor his foes believed that he would be defeated. The result has surprised everybody. The people are already disabused in regard to the land vote, a powerful reaction has already taken place, and very many that opposed him are anxious that he should become a candidate for the Senate. Should he do so, I think his election beyond all doubt.

As to myself, I had to encounter all the opposition of the great body of the Jackson interest, and to tell you the truth (for I feel no motive to conceal anything of the kind) I used all the policy in my power, and freely subjected myself to great risk, to force all my opponents to come out on that side of the question. You may think this strange, but I will not conceal that my object was to place myself

in an attitude that would throw the balance of power into my own hands. And in this, if I have any judgment at all, I have completely succeeded. My enemies are committed. If I choose to join them, we could succeed. On the other hand, I have already proved myself too strong for their combined operations, and am now in a situation to increase my strength. Both for the misrepresentation of my votes concerning the public land which I had no opportunity to contradict, I should have received and could now obtain two-thirds of all the votes of the State. It is utterly *false* that I owed my election in the slightest degree to my forbearance, or any kind of temporising in regard to the candidates for the Presidency, or any other kind of temporising. On the contrary, I openly declared that I would reserve to myself the right to vote for or oppose whom I pleased, and bid defiance to all kind of opposition.

In regard to the Presidential election I am entirely uncommitted, and it is my candid opinion that I shall remain so. So long as some of the Jackson papers continue to assail me, as they have done, and are now doing, my pride would never suffer me to be led into any kind of co-operation with them. And so long as Mr. Adams' officers are permitted imprudently to use his own declarations, and conduct to my disadvantage in my own State as is done in the accompanying handbill, though it may not drive me from neutrality, I never will enlist under his banners. Some of his warmest friends however have more cause of complaint against the author of this handbill. And I am persuaded that the time is at hand, when the wisdom of Mr. Jefferson's course in regard to the patronage

of the administration must become too obvious to be any longer neglected. * * *

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Hon. HENRY CLAY.

LETTER OF S. SIMPSON.*

[PRIVATE.]

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 22nd, 1826.

DEAR SIR:—I yesterday received from Mr. Mitchell, Post-Master of Belleville, a $5 note, being the balance of your subscription to the late "Observer," for which accept my acknowledgement.

Allow me to felicitate you upon your late election, which I sincerely hope may be repeated, until you again come within the circle of our National Politicks.

You cannot have forgotten my opposition to Mr. Adams. It is purely on political principles, and it has no particle of personal ill-will, or low malice, which I hope I am incapable of feeling.

Mr. Adams's magnanimity and forbearance, in regard to non-removals from office, excites my astonishment. He still retains his enemy W. Bache in the Post office here, although his official bad character would of itself warrant his instant removal. W. Bache is a determined friend to Mr. Calhoun. I marvel that Mr. Clay is not more on the *qui vive*, in this respect. But the Post Master General, I am told, is a Jacksonian. This policy not only places weapons in the hands of Mr. Adams's foes, but it takes

* Although it was two years to the presidential election, this letter is full of interesting speculations upon this subject.

weapons out of the hands of his friends, or rather *keeps* them out.

The *General* will surely be successful in 1829, by a vote of the Colleges, unless Mr. Clinton should stand, to whom I am friendly even before the General. How will your State vote? For Mr. Adams, it is said. Pennsylvania is yet *not settled.* Future events must decide her vote.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very resp'y, your ob't servant,

S. SIMPSON.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Governor of Illinois.

LETTER OF NINIAN EDWARDS TO HENRY J. MILLS.*

VANDALIA, 26th Dec., 1826.

DEAR SIR:—In vindicating the rights of the people, and advocating a thorough and radical reform, as I have done, I was well aware that I should have much and formidable personal opposition to encounter, but this consideration has not hitherto prevented, nor shall it hereafter deter me from discharging what I believe to be my duty. The interests of the people have been sacrificed, and they themselves unnecessarily burdened with taxes, in all the instances which I have pointed out, either in my public addresses to them, or in my late address to the legislature. They had a right, from the former, to expect in me, a bold and fear-

* This letter of Ninian Edwards to Henry J. Mills sufficiently explains itself. Mr. Mills was at that time a member of the lower house of legislature from Edwards County.

less advocate of reform, and they shall not be disappointed. Disdaining the aid of combinations and defying their power, I acknowledge no responsibility, but to the people, and look to them alone for support. It is quite natural that those who have profited by the measures requiring reform, should be dissatisfied with the changes I advocate. My policy interferes with schemes that are adverse to the interests of the honest farmers and mechanics of the country. And whenever the people shall fail to second my exertions to lessen their burdens and promote their interest, I shall be ready to surrender into their hands the high station which they have done me the honor to confer upon me.

As you heard a full and explicit exposition of my sentiments delivered to the people of your own county, and afterwards honored me with your support, I thought I had good reason both to regard you as a friend, and to hope that the general course of policy I advocated in your presence had received your approbation. It is therefore with sincere regret that I learn you have been informed that I had threatened that you should never return to this place, as a member of the legislature, if you gave certain votes in regard to the Circuit system; and that you, taking, as I suppose, this statement for the truth, had declared that if my election were now depending I should not get a vote in your county.

I must be permitted to say that I think it was due to the relations of friendship subsisting between us that you should have apprized me of this statement before you determined to adopt it as the foundation of hostility to me.

Viewing it however, as the result of a strategem to deceive you, and to injure me, and declaring to you that I have never, for a moment, entertained any other than sentiments of respect and friendship towards you, I beg leave to ask the name of your author.

Very respectfully, I am, Sir, your most ob't s't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

HENRY J. MILLS, Esq.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.

WASHINGTON, 29th Dec., 1826.

DEAR SIR:—I suppose that Mr. Cook keeps you notified of the administration movements (so far as he learns them). As yet parties are moving slowly to a concert of action on both sides. The politics of New York and some pending elections of Senators and Representatives have great influence upon the surface. Yet there is a mine under those in power which will soon explode. The abortion of the Panama Mission, and the loss of our Colonial trade will have its influence as the pretext upon which some will desert over.

In New York, Clinton wishes to offer himself; he would gladly come in as second best, but can not find the way open. If we were to take up either Clinton or Van Buren it would throw the conflicting interest upon the opposing scale and might preponderate against us; as it is, the position now assumed by Clinton will compel him to join Van Buren in support of Jackson, and those best informed on the politics of New York give us 24 of the 36 votes.

You will soon hear of the re-election of Gen'l Smith in Maryland and whether or not he will be compelled to take sides against the administration on account of the Colonial trade. It is probable that P. P. Barbour will be sent to the Senate in the place of Randolph, but Virginia is admitted to be with us.

You enquire about Mr. Calhoun's vote on your canal bill. It is well understood here that Mr. Calhoun has not abandoned his ground on the great question of internal improvement. His vote upon the survey of the road to Philadelphia and the deep interest he took in the proposed Florida canal and in your canal prove this. In relation to your foreseeing that he might be called on to give a casting vote, he spoke to the Chairman of the Committee in the Senate and to a Senator, Mr. Kane, from your State, and advised an amendment to the bill which would enable him to vote for it. It was thought that the bill having passed the house upon the memorial of the Legislature it was better to risk its passage.

Mr. Calhoun's objections to the bill, it is understood, were that, if the United States gave the means to make your canal the other States ought to have an interest in it. The bill proposed to give the land, a common fund, and make the canal exclusively a state work.

Yours, sincerely,

D. GREEN.

(Have this published in justice to Mr. C.)

Gov. EDWARDS,

Vandalia, Ill.

LETTER OF SIDNEY BREESE.*

WASHINGTON CITY, Jan. 31, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—I have read with much pleasure your inaugural address to the Legislature and concur with you in many of your views and opinions. I see also that the Legislature have adopted some of the measures you proposed—this is as it should be. A co-operation of the Legislature in the beneficial attempts of the Executive is very desirable and must be promotive of the public interest. I regret very much that my business has rendered my absence from home necessary at this, I may call it, eventful crisis in our State affairs, and that I have been prevented from contributing my mite in the great work of political reform. I allude alone to our State affairs. I hope the Legislature will do much good, and correct the manifold abuses that have crept in and gained footing in our State. I see they have repealed the law establishing circuit courts; this is right and was demanded by the people. I was fearful there would be found a majority in the Senate who would have the hardihood to resist the people's will in this particular. I suppose some change will be made in relation to circuit attorneys. As there are but four circuits now, one of two things must take place, either to make the office of Att'y Gen'l separate

* This letter of Judge Breese was written to Governor Edwards during his term of service. It was a modest ambition, that of Mr. S. Breese, at this time. Though nominated for the position of United States district attorney, if some changes could be made, he preferred the office of prosecuting attorney in some of the circuits of the State. At the time of writing this letter, Mr. Breese probably had little thought that he would be one of Gov. Edwards' successors as U. S. senator.

and distinct, or dismiss one of the circuit attorneys. Should the latter be determined on, I trust, sir, my claims to being retained will not be overlooked. I am the oldest Cir. Att'y except Gen'l Robinson, and if you have the appointments I apprehend you will scarcely appoint him to my exclusion. It is true that I have been nominated by the Pres't to the office of District Att'y in place of Mr. Hardin, but the Senate may not *confirm* it. If they do confirm, I cannot determine until I return home, whether I will accept it or not. If some changes are made in the office of Cir. Att'y I should prefer it, for it is worth twice as much as that of D. Att'y. I leave the matter entirely to you, sir, and if you think I have claims to being retained or renominated if that should be necessary I trust, sir, they will be duly considered, and that I, tho' absent, will not be lost sight of. Mr. Cook's health is improving. *It is said* he will be sent to Colombia. God send he may—he deserves that and more. The Bankrupt Bill was rejected a day or two since, and a motion to reconsider has prevailed. It may pass without the 93d section which is considered objectionable as it extends the benefits of the Bill to persons other than traders. I have nothing new to communicate. No step has been taken for the benefit of our State. Our Senators are lying on their oars, and our Representative has more than, in his present state of health, he ought to attend to.

With respect, I remain, sir, y. ob't'ly,

SIDNEY BREESE.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO HENRY J. MILLS.*

February 9, 1827.

SIR:—As, in your letter of the 29th ult. you requested me, "to furnish the select committee, charged to enquire into the official conduct of the late President, Directors, and Cashier of the Branch Bank of Edwardsville, with a list of the witnesses to support the charges embraced in my messages against those officers," I will add to the list already communicated according to that request, the names of Mr. Thomas J. McGuire, and the Hon. Theophilus W. Smith, as witnesses on that part of my communication to the House, which alleges, *that, there is reason to believe that, the loan to Thomas J. McGuire was somewhat connected with the establishment of a press at Edwardsville; that, Mr. Kinney, the President of the Branch, advanced money to buy the press; that, Mr. McGuire obtained his loan to reimburse Mr. Kinney; and that there is too much reason to believe that the interest of the people of the State was overlooked in providing the means of reimbursing Mr. Kinney, the amount advanced by him for the press.*

It is believed that Mr. McGuire can prove that Mr. Kinney advanced him $1000 to buy the press alluded to; that his, Mr. McGuire's, loan was obtained to reimburse

* This is the same Mr. Mills to whom Governor Edwards wrote the letter of December 26th, 1826, as previously published. This letter, it will be seen, is in respect of the investigation by the House of Representatives of charges against the official conduct of the president, directors, and cashier of the branch bank at Edwardsville, embraced in the messages of Governor Edwards to the Legislature.

(Fac-simile Letter of Dan. Webster.)

(Fac-simile Letter of Dan. Webster.)

Senate U.S.

March 22 ——

Dear Sir

I send back the papers rec'd from you, with an opinion, at foot of a copy of the case, which I have had made out. If I am wrong, send me word, & I will do, as we do here, reconsider. You will see I am plump enough

Yrs always truly

D. Webster

Hon Wirt

Mr. Kinney, that it was so appropriated; and that in consequence thereof Mr. Kinney gave up to Mr. McGuire the note which the latter gave for the money borrowed as aforesaid.

It is also believed that the Hon. Theophilus W. Smith can prove, besides all these facts, that Mr. Kinney, as President of the Bank, concurred in granting the loan to Mr. McGuire, knowing at the time that it was intended for his, Mr. Kinney's, benefit, as aforesaid.

I also refer the committee to the certificates of Mr. Smith's acknowledgement of his mortgage, and of his affidavit of the value of the mortgaged property as affording proof in regard to that matter, which can scarcely be misunderstood. Very respectfully, I am, sir,

Y'r mo. ob. s't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Henry J. Mills, Esq., Chairman, &c.

LETTER OF DANIEL WEBSTER TO WILLIAM WIRT.*

SENATE U. S., Mar. 22.

DEAR SIR:—I send back the papers rec'd from you, with an opinion, at foot of a copy of the case, which I have had made out. If I am wrong, send me word, and I will do, as we do here, *reconsider*.

You will see I am *plump* enough. Y'rs, always truly,

Mr. WIRT. D. WEBSTER.

* Governor Edwards, through Mr. Wirt, had applied to Mr. Webster for a legal opinion in 1827. Mr. Wirt was then attorney-general under Mr. Adams, and Mr. Webster a United States senator from Massachusetts. The letter was transmitted through Mr. Wirt to Governor Edwards, and is printed here as found among his papers. The letter is lithographed.

CHAPTER XV.

Letter of Gen. Joseph M. Street; writes from his residence in Shawneetown; description of a visit to Peoria; badly in want of an office; foresees the great advantage of the canal; prominent men who have resided at Shawneetown; letter of George Forquer, the half-brother of Gov. Thomas Ford; Forquer and Daniel P. Cook lay out the town of Waterloo, in Monroe County; Forquer a member of the legislature from that county; resigns to become secretary of state under Gov. Coles; senator from Sangamon County in 1832; elected attorney-general of the State in 1829; letter of Duff Green; bad state of health of Daniel P. Cook; his projected voyage to Cuba; Green's speculations about presidential candidates; another letter of Joseph M. Street; Jones, White, Eddy, McLean; yet another letter of Mr. Street; had been on a visit to Cumberland College, Princeton, Kentucky; his brother-in-law, Maj. Posey; criticism of Eddy's paper; call of the legislature unpopular; the administration of Adams reigning triumphant at Shawneetown; few Jackson men to be found anywhere; describes a political discussion in Kentucky between Henry and Lyon, candidates for Congress.

LETTER OF JOSEPH M. STREET.

SHAWANEETOWN, March 30th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR:—On Wednesday I returned from my *first* visit to Peoria. I cannot well convey to you my entire disappointment, at this distance. The whole country, as now *cut down*, contains about 30 or 40 men, and in its *best estate*, the whole docket does not exhibit *30 cases*.

There is nothing doing on land, and *less* on the water—if such comparison is admissible. The harbour and town site is the best I presume in all the Western country; but not *one* sail enlivens the monotonous prospect, or *oar* dips into the "*dark blue waves*" of the fairy lake, from one year's end to the other—if you except the ferry-boat, with now and then the canoe of a few miserable, tawny savages in quest of a dram. When I crossed, the river was high and the country on this side was inundated for half or ¾ of a mile,—the whole eastern shore of the lake from its head to its foot is one extended impassable marsh except at a point just above the narrows, called the mouth of 10-mile creek. This must render the place very sickly—and enquiry amongst the few wretched inhabitants, confirms my opinion previously formed on the view of the opposite shore. On this side (east) the country is poor, very broken, and uncommonly sterile for 6 or 7 miles, and on the back, or west of Peoria after you leave the plain at the foot of the bluff one mile and a half from the lake, the land is poor interspersed with little basins of water in the open prarie to Kickapoo creek, and extending across reaches a distance of 8 or 10 miles. Out of this general view is to be excepted the *rich woods*, a little tract of 800 or 1000 acres, and some small uninundated bottoms at the creek. There is no timber or fire-wood nearer than 2½ to 3 miles. There is a narrow strip of good land extending from one mile above the narrows (say 5 miles above Peoria) to the head of the lake, a distance of about 14 or 15 miles, and varying from ½ to 2½ miles. This binds on the western shore of the lake and reaches to the foot

of the bluffs which overhangs them at the heighth of about 60 or 70 feet. This is the country, and a view of the resources and present prospects has been hinted at and partially detailed. Upon this view what is your opinion, my friend? What should I do here? Or how could I do? It is true there is no prospect of getting bread for my *numerous family*, but then there is great reason to apprehend they would not long want food at such a place. I could have got the county clerkship, but the Recorder's office and the Judge of probate, Dixon has determined to hold. The other two are not worth 50$ per annum. No, not 30$! I cannot possibly go there, and am at an entire loss what to do. Surrounded as I am by a large family and rather helpless, I am unable to say what I can do to maintain them. Old Mrs. Posey lives with me. Had I only a family of 3 besides myself, as Gen'l White, I should feel no fears (as he seemed to do), but with 12 white persons besides myself I have real cause of alarm. However, that God who feedeth the young ravens of the valley will provide for those who put their trust in Him, and are found in the industrious use of the *means*. I only ask some advice from my friends and cannot suffer my active spirit to despond. All my friends from Washington write me *except Mr. Cook*. But their compliments were *cold* as the breath from the vases, in Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, were to *Morocco*. They give no hopes—and almost say with the haggard figure, "*your suit is cold.*" Johnson alone was warm and feeling—but he has, I fear, but little influence. Clay was *politely ardent in good wishes*, but had "but little patronage"; Taliaferro and Barbour felt disposed

to "*do any thing in their power to serve me;*" they "*know of nothing at present.*" What think you of all this? You know great men better than I do. Be so good as to give me a *crumb of comfort* if you can, for I fear I shall starve amongst this world of high proffered friendship and consideration.

I deeply lament that the state of my horse and my anxiety to get home to my family denied me the pleasure, and I w'd hope the benefit of seeing you. I intended to go to your house until the day I left Sangamo. I then counted my time and it was too short to permit me to see you now. But I will shortly if I go round in a steamboat. What could be the reason of Mr. Cook's silence? Did he answer you on my application? I hear that Menard has the sub-agency. I almost fear I did wrong to say I was *poor* to some to whom I wrote. In returning from Peoria (by-the-by my appointment costs me $40) I called on some *old friends* below Springfield, and finding more than I knew of staid 10 days in the county, and am highly pleased with the place and the people. I was very much solicited to settle amongst them, and at last purchased a farm 27 miles below Springfield in Sangamon county, 3 miles from Sangamon River, 12 m. from the mouth of Spoon River, on the Ill. River, and am now engaged in hastening the close of my business here in order to move out in September next. The clerkship of Peoria is worth nothing—the place *at present* has no business or attractions—and I shall be in the neighborhood of Peoria, in the *northern section* of the State, and ready to assume any situation to which through your influence or agency I may

be called, for, I now *rely on your exertions.* In the meantime, if your *true friends* in other quarters feel disposed as *I do* to sustain you upon the ground you have assumed, and which a great portion of the people approve, let a concerted effort be made in the next elections—let men of talent and firmness come forward in every county and there is no doubt of ultimate and decisive victory, that will redound to the honor and prosperity of our State. This is a time of immense importance in our State—and more peculiarly to the northern section. The General Government has made us a grant of land, which, with proper management, and a judicious course of measures will enable us to commence the canal immediately after the next session. I will touch this again hereafter. After I determined to remove to Sangamo, Matheny, the clerk, offered to sell out to me his office (he is very incompetent), but I declined buying. He does not like me so near him I find, because he sees I know his incompetency. He discovered the anxiety of the people for my removal and appeared astonished at my numerous friends and acquaintances amongst them. H. Warren is firmly attached to you, I find, and I hope to do him good when I get into the county. I can then increase his patronage greatly. And, perhaps, render other aid. I wish to hear from you; do write me and freely give me your opinion of what I have said. I greatly need your advice. I hope White and Hargrave may be able to do something at the next election here. *I think they will.* You promised me to mention to Judge Lockwood, that if a vacancy occurred to give it me. Should one happen in the north, I w'd

hasten there in time with my family. After Sep. I shall be certainly in Sangamo. I remain,

Yours, sincerely,

JOS. M. STREET.*

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF JOHN McLEAN.†

POST-OFFICE DEP'T, 2nd April, 1827.

HON. NINIAN EDWARDS, BELLEVILLE, (ILLIN.):

Sir:—Your letter of the 8th ult. is now before me. As I am about revising the mail arrangement in your State with a view to its improvement; and the contracts in the State will all end with this year; it appears to me most advisable to continue the present arrangement and not make a change in the route proposed in your letter. If, however, any important advantages can be realized by the

* Joseph M. Street was a well-educated and intelligent man, and an early settler in the State. His description of Peoria, as it appeared to him at the time of writing the letter, is dismal enough. Mr. Street was one of the first settlers in Shawneetown, which place became famous for the large number of distinguished men who resided there. Among the number may be mentioned John McLean, the first member of Congress from this State, and afterward United States senator; Thomas C. Browne, so long on the bench as circuit and supreme judge; Jeptha Hardin, a well-known circuit judge; John Marshall, president of the Shawneetown bank; Michael Jones, United States land officer at Kaskaskia, member of the State senate in the first legislature from Gallatin County, and candidate for United States senate against Governor Edwards in 1820; Adolphus F. Hubbard, lieutenant-governor; William J. Gatewood, a prominent lawyer, and member of the State senate from Gallatin County for many years; Henry Eddy, the ablest lawyer in Souther Illinois in his day; and others. Street was a general of militia.

† This letter was written by Mr. McLean when postmaster-general to Governor Edwards during his term of office as governor.

change you propose, which I do not now perceive, I may adopt the improvement before the year closes.

Respect'y, your ob't s't,

JOHN MCLEAN.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.*

VANDALIA, April 20, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—I was absent at the Montgomery court when your letter came, or the certificate would have been forwarded by last mail. The Treasurer is not yet returned, the Auditor I have informed of your wishes.

I hope you will not consider me as obtrusive for saying a word or so about the movements in Sangamon relative to a call of the Legislature. I fear those people are more solicitious about their interest than wise in the selection of the means to promote it. If I could suppose that the

* George Forquer cut a considerable figure in the early history of this State. He located in Monroe County, and first, in company with Daniel P. Cook, laid out the town of Waterloo. His father having died, his mother married Robert Ford, the father of Governor Thomas Ford—hence Ford and Forquer were half-brothers. They were both self-made men, and of more than ordinary ability.

In 1824, Mr. Forquer was elected to the legislature as a member of the house of representatives from Monroe County, and he resigned, to become secretary of state under Governor Coles, having been appointed January 17th, 1825. David Blackwell was the first secretary of state under Governor Coles, but he resigned after a short term of service, to have his place filled by the appointment of Morris Birkbeck, October 15, 1824. The nomination of Birkbeck was rejected by the senate, January 15, 1825, so that he only held the office for three months. Birkbeck was one of the founders of Edwards Co., an Englishman of ability, education, and wealth. He was one of the most powerful writers of his time in the State, and his writings had great influence

public good would result from a convention of that body I should certainly desire it. But that such a hope is without foundation is clear from these considerations: 1st. That if they should meet shortly they would find themselves here destitute of the requisite information to legislate on the subject, because it is one about which most of our public men have a very limited knowledge, and whatever might now be done would be a bare experiment which jeopardise the public interest. Two years would give time to collect information, to propose plans and discuss them. 2dly. I believe that the Sangamon people are not the prime movers of this matter, though they have taken the lead in it. It is known to a certain description of men that a number of offices and public employments can be carved out of this business. This is the mainspring to their patriotic exertions, and this is conceived to be the time to reward them by legislative appointments. To these, in my opinion, paramount objections to the call, add the financial embarrassment of the State, and an

in causing the rejection by the people of the "Convention Resolution." For this a pro-slavery state senate rejected his nomination as secretary of state. Mr. Forquer was appointed in his place. In 1829, he was elected attorney-general of the State. Mr. Forquer, having removed to Springfield, was in 1832 elected to the legislature as a senator from Sangamon County. He was afterward appointed register of the land-office at Springfield, and died of consumption at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1837. Mr. Forquer was a man of more than ordinary ability and of a serious character. At the session of the legislature in 1832–34, when Mr. Forquer was the senator from Sangamon County, he prepared an elaborate report upon internal improvements, which his half-brother, Governer Ford, says, in his history of Illinois, was abler than any similar document ever submitted to any of the Western legislatures. It contained, says the governor, "evidence of vast research, an abundance of facts and probable conjectures, and is expressed in language at once pleasing, brilliant and attractive."

ample justification will be found for resisting the petition of the people of Sangamon.

Besides this, the responsibility is now fixed upon the Legislature for not taking some preparatory steps in relation to the matter last winter, the necessity of which was repeatedly urged upon them.

Yours, very respectfully,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville,
Illinois.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.*

WASHINGTON, 6th May, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter, enquiring after Mr. Cook, is received. In relation to him I am at a loss to know what to write. He was in bad health during the whole winter. Several times confined to his bed. His labors as chairman of the committee of ways and means were to much for him, and confined him to his room for two weeks before the close of the session. Judge McLean (the P. M. G.) kindly took him to his house where he was kindly nursed and recruited so as to be able to travel. It was the opinion of Dr. Holcomb, his attending physician, that his disease was temporary and that a sea voyage would restore him to health. Judge McLean tells me that he has written to you, fully advising you of the terms and circumstances

* This letter has a mournful interest, as it relates to the health of Mr. Cook. It shows further that the great political struggle to take place the next year began very early. Mr. Green's predictions concerning the success of Genera Jackson were fully verified.

under which he went out. It was all that Mr. Adams could *safely* do for him and will place him in a situation to avail himself of that state of party which he may find upon his return to the United States. He expressed a great desire to have Mr. Cook with him, but such were the circumstances of his appointment that it became necessary for him to go out immediately and such was the state of his health that he could not well consent to wait. I hope you will have heard from him before this reaches you. I shall write to him soon.

My family reached here on the 13th ult. in tolerable health. My prospects are flattering and I consider the election of Gen'l Jackson as one of the events most certain.

I have always known that Illinois and Missouri were among the most doubtful States. I am induced to believe that the result will give both to Jackson. But such is the current of events from that quarter that it will be impossible to convince the people of other States that both these States are not for Gen'l Jackson. Clinton and Van Buren are both openly and avowedly for Jackson. All that you hear from the *Journal* and other prints about Maryland and Pennsylvania are the desperate falsehoods of despairing men. It is now understood that Mr. Clay is to make a tour of Pennsylvania, get up dinners and speeches and thus produce an impression of a change in favor of the coalition. It won't do. We can give them *all* the newspapers and ten thousand *politicians* to boot and beat them in Pennsylvania. Clinton's influence will now be for Jackson in Ohio and will do more for Jackson than Clay could do for Adams. Clinton (no doubt) desired to make

an impression that Jackson was weak in New Jersey under the hope that he would be withdrawn and the New York candidate substituted. His message was a bait for Virginia and the South, but in all that, he has failed. He now has to contend with Van Buren and the struggle will be which can do the most for Jackson. 25, if not 30 of the votes of New York are calculated on. In Maryland Mr. Adams will not get more than one vote if *that.*

Your friend and relative,

D. GREEN.

GOV. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTERS OF JOSEPH M. STREET.*

WESTWOODPLACE, GALLATIN COUNTY,

May 16th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR:—Think not, that my silence proceeds from disrespect, or want of a due sense of gratitude for your friendly solicitude in relation to my unfortunate pecuniary depressions. Necessity compelled me to take a trip to Kentucky during which time your letters were received at my house, and were there on my return. I sincerely thank you for your attentions at this time, it is

* Mr. Street's desires were gratified, and he was appointed Indian agent at Prairie du Chien. Afterward, at an early day, he had his residence at Cassville, Grant County, Wis. The Mr. White alluded to, was Leonard White, an early settler at the United States salines, and at one time the agent. He was a prominent man in Southeastern Illinois, and a member of the senate from White County, in the State legislature of 1822–24. At the election for United States senator, January 9, 1823, when Jesse B. Thomas was elected for the second time, Leonard White received six votes.

being a "*friend in need*," and promptly should I have acknowledged their receipt as they came had I been at home. When I was in Sangamon I purchased a small farm on credit, to be paid in May, and under my depression I found a small sum of money harder to raise than I had any apprehension of. However I succeeded, and to-morrow morning I presume my wife's brother, Wm. C. Posey, will set off from my house where he has been for two weeks with his family, to his farm near the town of Jacksonville, in Morgan County. He was out last summer or fall, and purchased an old improved place, with a parcell of sheep and some cattle attached to it, put in a crop of wheat, engaged his corn to be planted and is now on his way out with his family in a carriage and two on horseback, having sent all his moveables by a steamboat to St. Louis, from whence he intends waggoning them up to Morgan. By Mr. Posey I send out the money to pay for the place I purchased in full, and this summer I shall remove to it, if no better thing can be done. Of one thing I am sure, I shall go into the midst of a people who love and respect me, all my neighbours will be warm and unchanging friends, who have earnestly entreated me to move and settle amongst them. This will be a great source of comfort, and I think my desires are *now* few, and we can live happily in our retirement. For myself it is expected that I will be a political man by those who solicit my coming.

I tender you my warmest acknowledgment for your letter to Mr. C. which with one from myself was forwarded by this mail, and one to Barbour, and one to Jno. Talliaferro of King George, Virginia. In those letters I have stated

the probable vacancy, at Praire du Chien, and have solicited the appointment. Has Menard gone up to Peoria, or does he intend residing there? I should be highly gratified to get the Agency at Prarie du Chien, as on my retirement from it I could again settle amongst my friends in the northern counties, where I ultimately mean to reside, and if I can, and in fact committed to them to live. At present there are no other friends than Talliaferro and Clay near the city, and those at a distance could not now write in time, for this office. Barbour did not answer my last winter's letter. Talliaferro did with warm protestations of friendship and a desire to serve me. The papers say Barbour is in Virginia on his way to Ohio. Will the appointment be made in his absence, and on whose recommendation? Should any other place occur to you let me know.

In relation to the call of the Legislature, all here say it will not do with an empty Treasury. McLean is silent. I think he is a little scared at the errors of the last winter. If Eddy's paper could be *read even with glasses*, or if any person would even attempt to read it, I would *touch some strings*, that I think would vibrate amongst the people, although the hand might be unskilful from long disuse. On speaking to White he informs me that he is watching his way, and means to act warily. I fear he is on a wrong track for becoming useful to *you*. But I dare not whisper the *kind of suspicion here*, as my private interest is too deeply at stake to say a word against his man. I therefore must intreat you only to *use it*, but say not a word of from where it came. White is endeavouring to cary Jones

and Crain, or Jones and Eddy. Now Eddy will do well, and McLean out of the way as a Senator and Crain will not go with Smith & Co. I think. Yet though my sworn personal friend I fear C. is too much given up to McLean to go against McLean's wishes. As to Jones, you know him too well to expect any aid from him, if Thomas is not your choice. Let who will offer Thomas is his man. And the fact is too much reliance ought not to be placed on him anyway. He is the creature of T. and of his *own interest.* I would not write this to any other man on earth, and wish it strictly secret for pecuniarily I am deeply in J.'s power. Yet you should know all these things to enable you to judge how things are and ought to be conducted. If Eddy and some other staunch administration man would come out along with him, they could be elected easy. The administration could carry their point here easy. Clay, Adams, and Crawford men are here nearly all *Administration* men, and compose a majority of the County. White ought to be urged to bring out Eddy and some other administration man. I can't do it. Eddy is the proper person, or old John Marshall.

I will write again shortly, if I do not tire you.

I remain devotedly your friend and obliged servant,

JOS. M. STREET.

P. S. Was the law in relation to withholding the salaries of Officers indebted to the State or Bank repealed last session? I wish to know. J. M. S.

SHAWANEE TOWN, 9th June, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—I fear I shall tire you with my letters; but

I remember your patient industry, and particularly your permit to me—"write as often as you feel a disposition, you cannot tire me,"—and I scribble on. When your last reached here, I was at the Cumberland College, at Princeton, Ky., and did not see it for a week or 10 days. The friends of the institution were called together and an examination took place. The students have made rapid progress, and seem to comprehend fully what they have studied. The college is in the "full-tide of successful experiment," and bids fair, completely to establish the *principle:* that it conduces to health, renders the mind more sober and active, and lessens the expense of an Academic education, to combine labour with study. There are now 68 students in the college—they have 100 acres in corn, 40 in wheat and oats, 10 in horticulture. Every thing looks prosperous, and the students and their parents, and guardians well satisfied. I believe I before mentioned this institution to you. I had mentioned this as my excuse for delaying to acknowledge your very friendly communication of the 24th ult. I instantly availed myself of it to strengthen an application conditionally made after the receipt of your previous letter with an inclosure. I wrote on to Mr. Clay and to Mr. Talliaferro, as being the nearest at hand to propose me for the office. I presume Secretary Barbour is from home. I trust I shall be remembered tho' I am not sanguine. The office w'd be very *appropos.*

I sent my last as far as Carlisle by my wife's brother, Major Posey, who was going on with his family to his purchase in Morgan. He is a valuable citizen—a warm friend of Clay, and a thorough-going Administration man. His

circumstances are independent and easy, and he will have considerable influence in that county. There are a strong body of Old Presbyterians in that county, of whom Mr. Leiper is one, and Mr. Posey, who has been many years of that body, chose the county partly because of their society. By him I sent on the money to pay for the small tract of land I had purchased in Sangamon,—or rather to enter it in the land office and pay for the improvement. Should I get no appointment I shall move this fall to Sangamon, and trust myself once more to the people. Wherever I may be, you may confidently calculate upon such poor aid as I can render you, for your course is directly the cause of the people. Here, and in the newspaper of this place, I do not think I can venture to write—if I do it must be through Browne or White. * * * Look at Eddy's paper, and you can see, that tho' its course is for the Administration—it is a zeal without knowledge. Tho' unfriendly to Thomas, the pieces against him are coarse, vulgar blackguardism, and will do more good than harm to him, and must injure the reputation of the paper. They are the production of Hardin, who cannot write any thing better, for it is his common style, talking as well as of writing. If I say any thing it will be through our friend Browne.

The call of the Legislature is unpopular here, and every man I have conversed with thinks that the business should not go to the present elected members. The self-appointing Legislature have left themselves very vulnerable, and if I do not here, I will some where else communicate a few thoughts upon the enormous stretch of power assumed

by our House of Representatives, contrary to the spirit of our Constitution, and the practice of the General and State Governments. A usurpation of power calculated to destroy the checks and balances so wisely interposed by the framers of all our constitutions.

The Administration reigns triumphant here, and only a few Jackson men are to be found any where. Since the seat of Justice is away the Jackson candidates here can only succeed on one ground—that is an entire devotion to the cause of the people against the Kinney and Smith faction. Sooner than put this matter in any doubt, I think the people here would elect a Jackson man. The State party feeling runs higher than the people can be excited upon the subject of the Presidency.

In the 12th District in Ky., where I was a few days past, I think Henry will be elected over Lyon and New. If New w'd resign (who has no possible chance) there would be no doubt. Lyon's only hope is that two Administration men may injure each other. They spoke at Trigg Court House while I was over. Henry can do what he chooses in his stump speeches with either or both of them. He is a man of sense and education, speaks pretty well, and remembers all his opponents say and answers systematically, and urges the most mischievous and gently-irritating enquiries. On one occasion Lyon had plumed himself up to his great uniformity of opinion and action—his love of retrenchment and rigid economy in the administration of every branch of the people's affairs, concluding in a popular strain of self-complacency. Henry did not instantly or positively deny this character to Mr.

L., but in a highly-wrought irony, he shewed that he had *changed sides completely*,—that his economy was to do away a court of 3 judges at $1500 and establish another on its ruins with more dangerous powers of 4 judges and $2000 sal.—the first $4500, the latter $8000. When he was portraying this course Lyon's bitterest enemy could not but pity him his feelings. No man under a violent fit of the cholic could have made more miserable grimaces and shewed greater restlessness, and at last he was compelled to gain some relief by declaring in a set speech the truth of the charges and to acknowledge it amongst the number of his faults or sins, as he called them. Henry then in reply cut him deeper than ever—and called upon him to repent and turn from his sins as well as confess them. And that he should require something more than a hasty confession—he must have a period of experience in which his repentance could be proved to be genuine, &c., &c. He speaks well and to the purpose. But I am running away with you and myself. Adieu. With great respect, and much grateful affection, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

J. M. STREET.*

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,
Belleville, Ill.

* This letter is full of the political speculations of the period. In the election contest in Kentucky, which is spoken of, Henry was elected over Lyon, but at the same election, Chittenden Lyon—the son of Matthew Lyon—was elected from another district.

CHAPTER XVI.

Further letters of Gen. Joseph M. Street; more about the congressional contest in Kentucky; Lyon comes out for Jackson; fears that he will be elected to Congress on account of two administration candidates running, Henry and New; the new paper at Edwardsville, the "Corrector"; wants to resign as general of militia; sees Mr. Cook when passing through Shawneetown for Kentucky, never more to return; McLean has high hopes for senator; speculations as to the chances of the candidates; description of a drunken row at a camp-meeting; "the Lord works in his own way, and will do as to Him seems good"; letter of Ninian Edwards to the secretary of war; shows his just appreciation of the condition of things regarding the Indians; urges prompt and immediate action by the war department; fifteen hundred men driven from the vicinity of Galena by the hostile acts of the Indians; letter of Joseph M. Street; his appointment as Indian agent at Prairie du Chien obtained; grateful acknowledgments to Gov. Edwards for his influence; still desirous of resigning as general of militia, but will hold on if there be any probability of being called into action; about Kentucky politics; Clay made a mistake when he made John Pope his enemy; regrets that the really worthy men of Kentucky are arrayed against each other; they should press "forward arm in arm to victory."

LETTER OF JOSEPH M. STREET.

SHAWANEETOWN, July 7th, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—I have but a short time in which to write so as to avail myself of this mail. I have again been called to the college at Princeton, and have just returned

in time to write by this mail. I am apprehensive the contest in Lyon's or Henry's circuit will be hard and that Lyon will stand fair to get in. I was over at the Caldwell Circuit Court, and Henry, Lyon, and New all spoke. Henry's was in fact the only speech made; Lyon's was a poor, stammering, humming and hawing attempt that if well written out was not worth listening to; New's was the declamation of a handsome, agreeable man of common capacity, agreeably delivered, and was pleasing to many; but there was in fact *nothing in it*—it was entirely a dish of elegant flummery, suited tolerably well to the occasion. I am now apprehensive that Henry and New will defeat the administration ticket, and get in Lyon. *Chittenden* is less informed, and more dull than I had expected (I never saw him before). He is an indifferent sample of Matthew, only in vulgarity. During the court he appeared desirous to engage E. M. Ewing in some public conversation in the court-yard. Ewing had observed it, he told me, and from his engagements at the bar in a criminal case, he did not wish to withdraw his attention from his business. However, Lyon pressed on him with some remarks in favour of J., and, particularly pointed against the Adminis. Ewing commenced and soon grew into an upper tone of voice, and attracted a pretty large group; he defended the Adminis. from the particular assaults, cast a glance at the overbearing dictatorial course of Gen'l J., animadverted upon his sentence on the Militiamen, the committee's report in relation to the affair of Mrs. R., and produced two pictures that were striking in their effect upon the crowd, and at once turned the choice to

the Adminis. He then reviewed Lyon's last campaign, his declaration against J. *then*, and when Jackson had identified himself with the South and Atlantic States, reared himself up in opposition to the West, the spots in his life, and private as well as public history made more plain and even spread out into dark and indelible stains; *now* he had declared for the *Hero*, with all his sins blazoned upon him. Lyon can't talk, and in fact knew not what to reply, save that he had not the gift of the gab. Yet much is to be apprehended from the division of the friends of the Adminis. between Henry and New.

Clay is on his way to this country (Ky.), and a great dinner is expected to be given him at Louisville. I hope he will be able to make some impression when he arrives. On my own business he wrote me under date of the 10th of June. He says, "I could not think of leaving it (the city) without seeing the Sec'y of War on the subject of your letter. He informed me that Bolvin was dead. I expressed to him my wishes that he would appoint you. He told me that he had rec'd a letter from you, and I parted with him under the belief that you would be appointed." I, therefore, begin to hope that through your timely information and friendly exertions I will get the appointment. If I do I will instantly write you, and call at your house as I go on to my station. Yet, say not a word of this until I do receive the app'tm't, or hear from Barbour. For it may do some injury to the cause of the Adminis. or myself.

The prospectus of the *Corrector*, at Edwardsville, was handed to me for my name yesterday by Sam'l Leech of

Fairfield, Wayne county. It is wretched type, bad print, and the composition poor. But Smith can certainly do better than this. Is it not a *ruse de guerre?* No respectable names were on the list here; A. F. Hubbard and Doct. Reid were the only tolerable ones—the rest were of little consequence, and will, in all probability, never pay. I can say with old Shylock in the Merchant of Venice in giving over a servant, "Aye, let him go and *help to ate up his means.*" The fact is, the true character of the paper is known here, and the course it will pursue, and it will not meet with encouragement. If your attention has been at all given to our paper here, you will see that some subjects of *State* importance have been treated on. I have not directly written as I said; but I have caused the matter to be inserted, and more will be said anon. You may also see a notice of the new paper at Edwardsville. The repeal of the law respecting bank delinquents is a matter of much interest with the people. How does Leech take the course he does, I wonder—he is Mrs. Marshall's brother, and much dependent on Marshall? He is Eddy's wife's uncle also. I do not understand the thing.

Is there no way for me to resign? They want a gen'l here badly. I am on the eve of removing to the place that I purchased in Sangamo, and cannot act. If I can resign to you, please now accept my resignation—the reason—I am going to remove before the fall musters to Sangamo—and order an election to fill the vacancy.

I am compelled to close, as the mail is closing.

McLean has high hopes—as Thomas sinks here, which

he has very much. Hardin is much enraged against him and is writing and *getting writing* done off against him.

Very respectfully your obliged friend and

Very h'ble s't,

JOS. M. STREET.

NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

SHAWANEE TOWN, July 28th, 1827.*

DEAR SIR:—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your very friendly favour of the 22d inst. I had began to fear you were absent or weary of my too frequent letters. You speak of the receipt of a letter from Mr. Clay, and urge your sincerity to your friends. I am fully convinced that you are earnestly my friend, and that you will and have gone great lengths to serve me. I believe I have also expressed deep regret that I should at any time have been induced to be regardless of one who I had formerly so warmly supported. The feeling was of short duration, and I thought was justified by the position taken by you in relation to myself. I now can only say in brief that I was *wrong*—that I have seen my error—that you have acted correctly, and when you invited my friendship, on the ground of *forgetting the past*. I gladly accepted the overture, and freely make my acknowledgements, and hope they have been accepted. I make these remarks in consequence of a part of your letter; and at the same time

* Mr. Cook was at this time on his way to Kentucky, never more to return. The hopes of McLean were not quite as fallacious as General Street suggested. He was elected the next year, in place of Thomas, United States senator.

would do every thing in my power to convince you that I have not a remaining shade of complaint against you—have *implicit* confidence in your real friendship—and would stake my life and my little all upon any lawful measure you would dictate. I assure you that my confidence when placed is implicit.

I saw Mr. Cook only for a few minutes in Shawnee. I heard he was in town and went to see him expressly. That morning my family had moved to the *camp-meeting*, where I always keep a camp, and there was no person at home. Otherwise I should have insisted on Mr. Cook resting a few days at my house. He has promised me on his return to call a day or two. Certainly he is extremely low—tho' I hope he will yet recover. I mentioned not the subject of what I had thought a neglect of a warm friend, for his looks, and situation was a sufficient explanation.

I will again write to Clay while in Ky., and again to Mr. Barbour, and follow your advice, in the urgency of my applications.

I have not yet seen the *Corrector*—is it in operation? All appears quiet here—even as still as the grave—on the subject of the next Legislature. Thomas is down with both parties. McLean (with whom my law matters compel me to remain on terms of intimacy) has yet high hopes of success. Yet, you know as well as I do, how fallacious are those hopes. He is much cooled in regard to Jackson and seldom names him. He is endeavoring silently to retain his standing for another election. Such are the distresses of the people and his usefulness to them

as a lawyer that it is difficult to say whether he can be excluded from the Legislature. The bank is suing everybody—several thousand dollars are now in judgm't, and there is not money to meet the emergency. Many appeals are taken and McLean is the defendants' lawyer in all the bank cases. He takes none for the bank, nor ever has. I could not think of McLean for a Senator—and Thomas seems to be out of the question. I, therefore, can but look to L., as the surest and best chance of success, should Mr. C. not regain his health. If he does, he stands marked out to the good sense of every reflecting man, as the most fit and proper person in the State. The people should early avail themselves of talents so foolishly and carelessly thrown away. What will the old members of Congress say, when D. is seen to rise (if he ever should be so unfortunate) in the place of C.? They must believe us madmen and fools. Jones is a candidate, there is no doubt; but your friends ought not to support him, for myself, should any circumstances induce me to remain, *I cannot*, with the views I have do so. For he will stick to T. to the last, and then he will not go with you, and can easily be brought to act with Kinney, Smith & Co.—in fact he is now with them. Wherever my destiny shall cast me I shall exert myself to sustain the firm, manly, and *correct* course you assumed last winter, and to expose the villanies of a set of peculators, and depredators on the State funds.

I yet expect to remove to Sangamon in October next, to the purchase made last spring.

I shall avail myself of the information contained in

your letters, and if I fail in the agency at Prairie du Chien shall endeavor to get that of Peoria.

31st Aug't.

Our camp-meeting is just over; there were a good many foreigners, and a large concourse of people from town and the adjacent country. Unfortunately on Sunday about 10 or 11 o'clock at night, just as our meeting was breaking for the night, some drunken blackguard fellows, who had been lounging near the encampment, got into an affray in the woods and one man ran into camp stating he had stabbed two men in self-defense and claimed our protection. One of the men is dangerously stabbed, the other slightly. All were *drunk and worthless*, and it did not extend to any of our people. One of the men (the one who did the mischief) is said to be deranged from hard drink—it is Ephraim Hubbard. On Saturday night there were flattering prospects of an excellent meeting; 2 got religion and many were deeply converted—yet the interuption of Sunday night dissipated every good prospect, and altho' Delany delivered the most moving and eloquent sermon I most ever heard on Monday all seemed in vain, and we broke up our encampment on Monday night.

The Lord works in His own way, and will do as to Him seems good. All, no doubt, is for the best, and will ultimate in the glory of God and the magnification of His name. I remain devotedly,

Your friend and h'ble servant,

JOS. M. STREET.

P. S.—What means the rumor I hear of Indian depreda-

tions, and a call upon the militia? Your letter to me excited much curiosity and was expressly sent out from town to me, and does not even mention the Indians, or remotely allude to any apprehension of an Indian war. Many believed it was an order for a draft. Under the prospect of difficulties, and a desire to render service, if any is required, I shall not now resign my commission as brigadier until I remove, or all is again quiet, if no war ensues. Please let me know the "head and front" of the Indian difficulties. Your devoted friend,

J. M. STREET.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF NINIAN EDWARDS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.*

BELLEVILLE, ILL., Aug't 20, 1827.

SIR:—Gov. Cass and other officers of the U. S. of great respectability, and with the best opportunities of forming correct opinions on the subject, all concurring in the belief that the neighboring Indians intended to make war upon us; and those Indians having committed several daring robberies and other depredations between Peoria and Galena, and commenced actual war in other parts. I have felt it my duty to call out about five hundred mounted volunteers to defend our frontiers. I suppose not less than 1500 men have been driven by those acts of hostility from the vicinity of Galena, and but for the measures I

* This letter of Governor Edwards to the secretary of war at the time shows his just appreciation of the condition of things as regarded the Indians.

dopted, several other parts of our frontier, from these efenceless situations, would have been depopulated. I herefore beg leave to ask how far it may be the pleasure f the President to recognize the defensive measures which have been thus compelled to adopt, and what provisions ill be made for paying the militia that have been called to service.

My power to act in such cases is limited to sudden mergencies. The defence of every State belongs to the en't Gov't. I now beg leave to ask in behalf of this tate, of the President of the United States, such mea- ires of protection to our extensive frontier, as its pecul- ar weakness demands. The measures adopted by Gen'l tkinson are, I presume, sufficient to insure safety to our Western border, but they are not the least calculated, nor as he the kind of troops necessary to protect those settle- ents which extend from the mouth of Illinois river to hicago.

I need scarcely remark to you what all experience has oved, that whenever the Indians have once made up eir minds to commit hostilities, or have actually com- itted such, as deserve chastisement, then pacific disposi- ons never can be safely relied on till they have begged r peace, and begged it so earnestly, as to leave no doubt their sincerity. Nothing of this kind has yet occurred. he latter part of next month is of all others the most vorable time for concentrating their forces and striking e most formidable blow. I will only add that I should very happy to render on the present occasion any ser- ces that would be acceptable to the President. Hoping

for as early an answer as possible, I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, sir,

Y'r mo. ob. s't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

N. B.—Presuming that you must have been informed by official communications of officers of the U. S. of the danger that has, at least, threatened us; and that no one could be more sensible of the necessity of a force different from that under the command of Gen'l Atkinson to afford the necessary protection to such a frontier as that of this State, I have constantly expected to hear from you on the subject. The services of the men whom I have called out will expire in a few days, and until I hear from you I shall not adopt any other measures, but leave it to the Gen'l Gov't to provide for such protection and safety as the people have a right to expect from it. The experience of the last war admonishes me to take this course, and there being not a cent of money in the State Treasury I have not the means of supporting any other. N. E.

LETTER OF JOSEPH M. STREET.

Sep. 2d, 1827, SHAWANEETOWN.

MY DEAR SIR:—I wrote hastily last mail, and in a postscript mentioned to you my appointment (which I mainly owe to your kind offices), and requested you to say to me what should be my course. I then intended to set out to-morrow on my way. Yet I am convinced I am unable to bear a ride so soon from the effects of a fall a few days previous to the date of my last letter to you. The

ermination of the spine, ending as you know in 2 or 3 mall joints has been so bruised or dislocated (perhaps oth) that I cannot set uprightly on a saddle. The doctors ell me that I can set out in 10 days or 12 at most. If here were steamboats passing I would embrace an opportunity to go by one. This tho' would not be as well as I ave to call at Kaskaskia to get the Judge's certificate of he solvency of my securities, and I wished to call on you t Belleville, on my way. Indeed let me go which way I nay I shall call at your house, for I want much in person o make my most sincere acknowledgements to you and o obtain your friendly and experienced advice. Will you lo me the favour to say to me whether the delay (which as been unavoidable from my hurt) will be to my injury? I shall certainly set out (without a providential interference) on to-morrow week. This will enable me to get the Western mail due this day week, and perhaps a line from ou.

The draft in my brigade is progressing, tho' but few returns have been made to me as yet. By this mail I expect hem, and shall immediately report to the Major-Gen'l. The appointment I have rec'd will only be a "*letter of appointment*" until advised by the Senate next winter (should I succeed in passing the Senate), consequently will not vacate my present command in the militia, will t? I ask purely and simply for your advice and better nformation. I have not yet resigned as brig.-gen'l, and from the date of my com. supposed that if the militia were ordered into service I should go, and being very desirous to be in active service, I wish to retain my com.

so long as there is any probability of being called into action. I shall of course not resign until I hear from you. Whatever you think respecting it will govern my determination.

What are the Indians doing? We are here without news. Clay has obtained a most clear and decided victory in relation to the Buckhannan story of Jackson, which is operating greatly against the "hero" in this quarter. It unfortunately came too late for the Ky. elections. I still think it is in time to have its full weight and proper effect on the final question. But Clay must now feel that he acted unwisely when he made our old friend John Pope his enemy. There was a time since I have resided west of the mountains when Pope would have gone hand-in-hand to power and influence with Henry Clay. And each would have been aided by the talents and influence of the other, and both would have been strong pillars knit into the strong fabrick of our Government; but an unhappy jealousy of the well-earned fame of Pope from his local residence crushed the opening prospects of a united usefulness, and I always feared that an unholy and narrow ambition sought, and succeeded in undermining the popularity of Pope. Now, that fire of genius which cannot be quenched, tho' it may for a time be shorn of power, will give C. much trouble in his anticipated career of public life. Pope was one of the warmest and best of my friends, *when I wanted a friend*, and my heart will ever be warm towards him. Yet I regret that the great men of Ky.—the *really worthy* —are arrayed against each other. I lament that the West, young, tho' strong and powerful, does not move with its

whole force united to the combat. That its politicians formed in the school of adversity with herculean powers do not press forward arm-in-arm to victory and triumph. I sometimes entertain deep apprehensions for the ultimate fate of our happy country. Too many men of known and decided talents are pressing into the front ranks for promotion, and not unfrequently a disappointed politician with a host of followers arrays himself in fearful opposition to the administration, which tends to weaken the powers of the Government itself, and often to destroy the effect of the wisest measures, and lay open to defeat the best laid plans of a wise and vigilant statesman.

In our part of the State—on local politics—all seems quiet. The draft, &c., has taken off the minds of the people from any thing else for the moment.

I commenced writing just before the mail was opened, and have not the time to say more. Should I rec. any thing important I will notice it before I seal this scrawl. At present I must hasten to the office as it is only open a few minutes to hand out letters and will then close. I remain with profound respect and deep devotion, your obliged friend, and Very humble servent,

JOS. M. STREET.

NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of the State of Ill.,
Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XVII.

Letter of Governor Edwards to President Adams in regard to Indian matters; letter of the governor to the secretary of war; writes of certain Indian hostilities; reiterates application to the president for protection to the settlers; they have a claim on the government for protection against the savages; Colonel Field reports that about 3000 men had been driven from the Fever-River lead-mines; generous proposition of Governor Edwards to provide subsistence with his own funds; protest against Indians longer occupying ceded lands; letter of Joseph M. Street; delay in repairing to his post as Indian agent at Prairie du Chien; letter of John McLean, overwhelmed with business, inquires about Mr. Cook; another letter of Joseph M. Street; his arrival at Prairie du Chien; easy manner in which he has "slid into the spirit of Indian affairs"; Indians soured by the conduct of the adventurers, flocking to and working the lead-mines of Fever River; they have a contempt for "naked Indians" and behave like blackguards; elaborate description of boundaries under Indian treaties; the Winnebago Indians complain of the trespass of the miners; no notice taken of it, and the "diggings progressed"; Wawzeekootee, he who "Shoots in the Pine Tops", furious against the whites and tells the Winnebagoes: "Go strike the first blow and the Sioux will help you"; desires to be appointed a commissioner to treat with Indians; Indians have a great opinion of his "gravity and portly look"; like Bolingbroke, does not mean to "make an every-day exhibition of his person".

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO PRESIDENT ADAMS.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, 13 Sept., 1827.

DEAR SIR:—I perceive that the Louisville *Public Ad-*

vertiser in announcing the arrival of Gen'l Gaines at that place, states that the administration has determined that the Winnebagoes shall surrender all those of their tribe who were concerned in the murders at Prairie du Chien, the attacks upon the boats, &c., and that, to prevent a recurrence of similar enormities, they shall abandon all the country on this side of the Wisconsin river. If this is the case it cannot fail to give the greatest satisfaction to the largest portion of this State. In fact nothing could be more popular—nothing is more just. Even the *Advertiser* highly applauds this course, and assigns the best of reasons in its favor.

As to the lands themselves, I believe there has been some great oversight or misunderstanding at Washington concerning them. I have only time for a hint or two on the subject.

In 1803 or '4 Gen'l Harrison purchased of the Sacs and Foxes all the lands between the mouths of the Wisconsin and Illinois rivers. In 1816 Gov. Clark, Colo. Chouteau, and myself, as Comiss'rs of the U. S., ceded all those lands which lie north of a due west line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, to the Ottawas, Chippawas, and Pottawatomies (all making one nation and generally denominated the Indians of Illinois river) with certain reservations. These Indians derive these claims from the U. S., and are the real owners of the land about which the Winnebagoes have made so much disturbance. The latter have no claim to any part of these lands, unless some right has been recognized to them inadvertently by the U. S. since 1816 of which I know noth-

ing, but which, if it exists, was a clear and palpable violation of the treaty with the Ottawas, Chippawas, and Pottawatomies aforesaid, unless their consent was previously obtained, which I do suppose was the case. It would in fact amount to nothing less than this: that the U. S. after having made a solemn cession of certain lands to those Indians, involving a pledge of good faith to protect them in the enjoyment * * * * *

Respectfully,

Y'r ob't s'v't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

To the President.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, Sept. 4, 1827.

SIR:—Colo. Field, a gentleman of much intelligence and high respectability, having been deputed by the population of the Fever-river mines to apply to me for assistance to repel the hostility of the savages with which they consider themselves daily threatened, arrived at this place the night before last bringing very unfavorable news in regard to that and other parts of our frontier, which is fully confirmed by another express that reached here last night from Peoria.

It appears that the Winnebagoes had ultimately refused to come to any arrangements with Gov. Cass and Colo. McKenney; that the Governor had received information, which he believed, that a part, at least, of the Pottawatomies had determined to unite with the Winnebagoes in the war; that he apprehended the people of Fever river would

be attacked before it would be possible to send them any aid; that Gen'l Atkinson had sent an express to that place asking for all the mounted riflemen that could be spared from it, and had marched towards Green Bay with about 600 infantry and 130 mounted riflemen to attack those Indians. No doubt the Gen'l will accomplish all that can be affected with the force under his command, but it is much to be regretted that he had not more mounted men, for if the hostile Indians are as numerous as Gov. Cass supposes, it is not probable that the Gen'l can march such a distance through their own country without having a hard fight at least. Should he be defeated or driven back, it may well be imagined that the consequences must be truly disasterous to our very extensive and exposed settlements all along the Illinois river and its waters. Whatever may be his fate, however, if you will only cast your eye upon the map, and consider that all the hostile Indians, with the exception of one small band, reside between his line of march and these settlements, it must, I think, be obvious to you that there is either no danger at all—or that they are in very great danger. Regarding them in the latter point of view, I feel it my duty to reiterate my application to the President for that protection which these situations demand; a protection, the necessity of which is as apparent, as that of any movement that has been made under the authority of the Gov't, and which can not be doubted without an utter disbelief of any hostile disposition on the part of those savages; nor without questioning the propriety of all those measures of the Gov't which have been adopted upon that supposition. For if the

Indians are hostilely disposed, as they can attack no where else with the same prospects of success, and with so little risk to themselves, so none can be in more danger than those settlements. Besides their lives and property, the people, I humbly conceive, have a fair claim on the Gov't for protection against those interruptions of their tranquility by the savages which are reasonably calculated to prevent them from resting under the shade of their own vines and fig trees without any one to make them afraid. I learn from Colo. Field that about 3000 men have been driven from the mines, and but for the measures I adopted upon the first alarm it is scarcely to be doubted that other parts of our frontier would have been entirely depopulated. I need not, I am sure, attempt to point out to a gentleman of your practical knowledge and experience the immense losses and sacrifices that must have resulted both to individuals and to the State from this state of things.

My authority to act, being limited to a sudden emer'cy, my measures were adopted with a view to such duration only as would be sufficient to enable the Gov't to get its own into operation, and I have now only between sixty and seventy men in service. Nor had I intended under any circumstances to have done more on my own responsibility, in consequence of their being no money in our State Treasury, the impossibility of doing without it, and the risk of pecuniary embarrassment, of which I had some experience during the late war, being greater than I have felt under any obligations to encounter. These views, however, have never been communicted to a single individual; and looking to consequences to the administration from

adhering to them, which can scarcely escape your sagacity, I have concluded, should actual hostilities be committed on our frontier, immediately to repair to it, make it my headquarters, and endeavor with my own funds, and at my own risk, to provide subsistence for such volunteers as I may be able to call to my aid, until I can receive your answer to my letter of the 20th ult. Whatever that may be, if it shall only afford reasonable ground to expect that I shall be sustained, I will continue to do the best in my power until I receive your answer to the letter, otherwise, unless all danger shall have entirely disappeared, I shall be compelled to convene the Legislature and lay the case, just as it may be, before them.

I beg leave to observe that the experience of three years' hard service on our frontiers, during the last war, has convinced me that no other force, of any reasonable amount, is available for such protection as they require, than that of mounted riflemen. Your infantry on the Wisconsin is too remote to afford the least. It would be scarcely less available to us, if it were at Washington City.

I must beg leave to call the President's attention to another grievance somewhat connected with the subject that has been borne by the people for a few years past with great impatience, and can not be submitted to much longer. That is the occupancy by different tribes of Indians of various portions of the ceded lands of this State, and their constantly traversing every part of it at their pleasure, for the purpose of hunting, without any right so to do. A large number of Pottawatomies particularly have been for several years past residing within about twenty

miles of Peoria on lands not only ceded, but which have actually been granted by the Gov't to individuals. An illegal occupancy, which has been in some measure countenanced by the Government by making it the seat of an Indian agency, the place of paying those Indians their annuities, &c. I now, sir, have to ask of the President that a grievance, so inconsistent with the rights of the State may no longer be permitted, and that these Indians in particular be removed with as little delay as possible. I shall be happy to assist in the accomplishment of this object by the most pacific means, if they will answer. I will not say what would probably be the result if the President were to decline a compliance with this specific request, because I do not believe his respect for the rights of the State will permit him to hesitate about it.

I have the honor to be,

Y'r ob't s'v't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

To the Hon. Secretary of War.

LETTER OF JOSEPH M. STREET.

SHAWANEE TOWN, 16th Sep., 1827.

MY DEAR FRIEND —I have been delayed until now beyond my expectations. I shall now, I hope, be off on my way to St. Louis on Wednesday next. The draft progresses so slowly as to give the belief that I cannot wait to return the result to Robinson; but resign to-day, and w'd earlier have done so but to prevent delay. The extract and some remarks in last week's paper here with the

aid of friends to *yourself*, have created a deep and anxious desire in numbers to volunteer and join you. Your *old staunch* friends are active—they in fact just wait for you to say come on with what you can hastily raise, and they will be on the march in 3 days' time. I saw Maj'r Kuykendal (an old friend) who told me to say to you that if you w'd only write him one line he w'd be with you with a comp. of as fine men as the State affords. Here are many anxious to join you at a moment's warning.

Yours, truly,

JOS. M. STREET.

The mail will not detain. This opposition will redound to your exaltation here, and the eternal disgrace of the op.

J. M. S.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Governor,

Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF JOHN McLEAN.

WASHINGTON, 21 Sept., 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter respecting the stage route has been received, and the subject shall be examined before the new contracts are made, with the strongest disposition to meet your wishes.

I am overwhelm'd with business.

Where is Mr. Cook, and how is he?

Truly yours,

JOHN McLEAN.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF JOSEPH M. STREET.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, Nov., 1827.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have been here two or 3 weeks and I can assure you I have not been idle, as my official communications would shew. By the same conveyance that takes this letter, a communication *directed to the Secretary of War*, as close written as this, on 3 whole sheets of paper, is sent off. And altho' so newly introduced into the Indian relations, I think you, who are by your knowledge of them and their affairs and countries, so able to judge, would give me some credit for my *tact*, and the easy manner in which I have slid into the spirit of Indian affairs, and took a peep behind the curtain. I am not boasting to the world, but writing to a confidential friend, sure and tried, whose good opinion of me under every difficulty I am striving to justify. I trust that you will never have cause to blush for one, who you so warmly and urgently recommended in highly flattering terms of commendation. I can never cease to remember it.

I have very minutely enquired into all the causes connected with the late disturbances with the Winnebago Indians. Hastily I will sketch them to you that you may compare them with your accounts and judge between them. I place great reliance upon my information as it comes from different sources, and fits nicely together. Should you have any varient opinions you would highly gratify me by communicating them. I took occasion in my communication to give that weight that is evidently due to the prompt measures you took in relation to the militia. The Winnebagoes and the whites all admit that

they apprehended more from the militia ordered to be drafted than all the regulars. They had set down the draft of ¼ of the militia of Illinois, as an immense number of *Mounted Riflemen*. They remembered the *Rangers of Governor Edwards*, and that was the force they most dreaded.

The Indians had been soured by the conduct of the vast number of adventurers flocking to and working the lead mines of Fever River. Those who went by land, by far the greater part, passed through the Winnebago country. Many of them had great contempt for "*naked Indians*," and behaved low, gross, and like blackguards amongst them. The Agent at the mines granted permits on the Winnebago lands, and numerous diggins were industriously pushed far east of the line between the Ottowas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies of the Illinois, and the Winnebagoes, and great quantities of mineral procured and taken away to the smelters. I should first have called your attention to your treaty of the 24 Aug., 1816, and and the treaty of 19 Aug., 1825, which together establish the line between the Ottowas, &c., and the Winnebagoes. Take the treaty of 24 Aug., 1816, and lay a map of the country before you, and delineate the lines as follows: The country of the Ottowas, &c., commences at the Winnebago village on Rock River, 40 miles above its mouth, runs down said river 'till it strikes the line running from the south end of Michigan L. due west to Rock Island, then up the Mississippi to the southern line of the Prairie du Chien reserve, and along said line east and north to the Wisconsin, then passing southwardly passing on the east

of the heads of all the small streams falling into the Mississippi to the beginning. This last line is on a dividing ridge between the Mississippi waters *direct*, and those falling into Rock River. The same treaty makes the unlocated reservations of such tracts of land as the U. S. may choose to locate not exceeding in all 5 leagues square. Then look at the treaty of 19 Aug., 1825 (page 363 of the Book of Treaties), and you will see the bounds of the Winnebago country. Again refer to the map having the last line from P. du Ch. to the Winnebago village in your recollection. Commencing at the sources of Rock River, down the said R. to the W. village, 40 miles above the mouth of R. R., *thence along the line of the Ottowas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies* (above mentioned) *on a dividing ridge passing east of all the small streams falling into the Mississippi* to the P. du Ch. reserve, thence with the east and north lines of said reserve to the Mississippi, and up the Mississippi to the Bluffs on the east side of said river opposite the mouth of the upper Ioway R., then with said bluffs to the mouth of the Black River, and up said river 'till a due west line from the sources of the west fork of the Wisconsin will intersect Black River, and along said line east to the sources of the W. B. of Wisconsin, down the same and the Wisconsin to the portage, across the portage and down Fox River to the Grand Kan Kanlin, including the whole of the Winnebago Lake. Leaving an open line from the Grand Kan Kanlin to the sources of Rock R. that I can find no treaty closes. From this you perceive that you in the treaty of 24 Aug., 1816, made the only reservations that have been made, and they are *all*

west of the line of the Winnebagos. Then we have no colour of claim on the Winnebago lands whatever. Harrison indeed bought all this land by the treaty of 3d Nov., 1804, from a point 36 miles up the Wisconsin to Lake Sakægan, at the head of Fox River of the Illinois. This includes the whole mining district 80 or a hundred miles east of the mouth of Fever River. But in the treaty of the 19th Aug., 1825, the commissioners recognize and establish the right of the Winnebagoes to this land, and make no exception or reservation except at P. du Ch. This closes all our chance of claim. This is the treaty *you said you had never noticed, and that you would have opposed its ratification had you considered its provisions.* The Winnebagoes complained of the trespass of the miners, and the open violation of the treaty by the permits of Mr. Thomas, the Ag't. No notice was taken of it and the diggins progressed. The Indians attempted force which was repelled, and very angry feelings produced. Under this state of excitement some of them left the neighborhood of the mines and went above this place, as it is supposed to consult some chiefs and influential men there, and to invite the co-operation of the Sioux, at any rate the lower band of Sioux with Wabasha. They were met there by a Sioux Indian called Wawzéekootee, or he that shoots in the pine tops, who told the Winnebagoes that the U. S. officers had delivered up several Sioux Indians to the Chippewas, who cruelly murdered them and cut them to small pieces, amongst whom was one innocent Indian; and that the 2 Winnebagoes, in confinement for previous murders, were at the same time butchered by the whites.

Now, said he, go and revenge their death, and the moment you strike a blow, the Sioux will help you to kill all the whites above Rock River. Two Winnebagoes who had invited the Sioux of Wabashaw's band, then offered a string of wampum, and asked the help of the Sioux. They all refused but pine tops, and he repeated the assurances—"Go strike the first blow and the Sioux will then help you." Under these feelings the Winnebagoes left them, and struck the blow on the boats, and at this place.

I have in one case recommended a purchase to be bounded east by a line from the mouth of Pine River about half way from this to the portage, on the Wisconsin, to the point of intersection between the line running due west from the south end of Lake M. and the northwestern line of the Illinois canal purchase; and that a treaty should be held next summer at this place. Gen'l Atkinson promised the Indians that com'rs should be app'ed to treat with them in relation the lead-mine difficulties.

I find Gen'l Clark is resolved I shall move here, or he, I fear, will endeavor to have me removed. He spoke very positively on the subject of my removal to this place. An immediate removal would subject me to some smart sacrifices—to meet debts which my salary would extinguish if I had a little time to make sales and gradually diminish my debts. If I must move this ensuing year or loose the place I shall certainly move, for I cannot do without it. If commissioners are appointed to treat with the Indians for these lands or other purposes, and I could be one of them, the additional sum, would enable me to move without any

great sacrifice. And I believe I could write a much better treaty than ⅔ds of those I see. Your treaties are the only ones that are *definite* in their lines or terms. Harrison's are the next best. If in writing to Washington you would mention me as being on the spot, and a fit person, if you think I am, you would greatly serve me in my depression. I will mention it to some friends also in Congress.

I have met several chiefs and tolerable large parties of Indians, and had some talks with them. As you advised me, I have deported myself and find no difficulty. Indeed I speak better than I had supposed I could, and casually learn that the Indians and whites think I speak very well. The Indians have a great opinion of my gravity and portly look (on which you joked me) and the officers of the Fort have paid me great attention. Major Fowle sent workmen to fit up my room and run a partition across the council chamber which I had suggested as proper, and is very respectful and friendly.

Like Bolingbroke, tho' I have kept pretty close to my room, and mean not to make an every-day exhibition of my person. I only appear in the Indian room when I wish to see Indians. At other times I turn them over to the Interpreter, and never receive any in my chamber.

You will doubtless think me very particular, and be tired of my garulity; the situation is new to me, and having craved your advice I am shewing you that I am acting upon it, or in accordance with your views.

Mr. Douseman, who takes this, is going, and I have written very hastily, not knowing of his departure but a

few hours. With respect and deep considerations of regard, I am, sir, Your most ob'd't h'ble s't,

JOS. M. STREET.

NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois,
Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Letter of Governor Edwards to secretary of war; transmits estimate of sums necessary to pay militia; letter of Joseph M. Street; the extreme isolation of Prairie du Chien in the winter of 1827; no mails, no letters, no newspapers; neglect of the post-master; table of distances from Prairie du Chien to Edwardsville and St. Louis; proposes a new mail route from Edwardsville to Fever River, ultimately to be continued to Prairie du Chien; commencement of the town of Cassville, opposite the mouth of Turkey River; the Indian chief "Red Bird", his fantastic dress; apprehensions of danger if he is hanged; hears of the death of Daniel P. Cook; a just and honorable tribute to his memory; "he was a clean politician, and a ripe and good one'"; still desires to be appointed commissioner to treat with the Winnebagoes; letter of Governor Edwards to the secretary of the treasury, in relation to location of lands for a seminary of learning; letter of Hooper Warren, a pioneer printer in Illinois; early printers and publishers in Illinois have a hard time; Warren one of the original anti-slavery men in the State; publishes the "Spectator" at Edwardsville during the great slavery struggle of 1823-24; opposes the election of Edward Coles for governor, for personal reasons; establishes in 1841, in conjunction Zebina Eastman, the "Genius of Liberty", at Lowell, LaSalle County; recommends to Governor Edwards the sale of the "Sangamon Spectator".

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO JAMES BARBOUR, SECRETARY OF WAR.

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, 5 Nov., 1827.

SIR:—In consequence of your request that I should transmit an estimate of the sum necessary to pay the

militia which were recently called into service in this State, I have the honor herewith to transmit an inspection roll of the first detachment, and a muster roll of the second.

These will show the number of men that were in service. Those reported on the inspection roll served thirty days. The muster roll of Capt. Bankson shows the term of service of his company.

All these were mounted riflemen, and found their own subsistence, ammunition, &c., and, of course, will expect to be allowed one dollar a day, the same that was allowed during the late war for similar service.

The inspection roll shows an over proportion of officers. This arose from the impossibility of procuring arms. Six hundred men were ordered out, but arms could not be procured for a larger number than those that actually marched, and the balance had to be discharged.

I have the honor to be very respectfully, sir,

Y'r mo. ob. s't,

N. EDWARDS.

Hon. JAMES BARBOUR, Sec. of War.

LETTER OF JOSEPH M. STREET.*

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, December 28, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—The closing of the river appears absolutely to cut me off from any intercourse with the civilized world.

* General Street has but just heard of the death of Daniel P. Cook at the time of writing this letter. The following tribute which he pays to the memory of that distinguished man is a just and honorable one. He says, "It is with sentiments of sympathetic sorrow that I notice the death of my friend Mr. Cook. He was a *clean politician*, and 'a ripe and good one.' Few men in

I arrived here the first of Nov., since when, we have had *one mail* from below. Capt. Clark of the army came in this month from St. Louis, but brought no letters or papers. I have not heard from my family since I left the Saline. And have not rec'd *one letter* from below this place since we parted. *From this*, you will readily conclude I am quite uneasy. If it is not imposing too much upon your goodness I should like, at a leisure moment, to get a few lines from you. I feel some anxiety to hear also from Washington City, whether my appointment has been confirmed. Kane promised to write me, and perhaps has, but as I before remarked, we get nothing from any place except Fever River and St. Peters. I have no newspaper from Washington, and until I can get a paper sent on, I would acknowledge it as a great favour, if you would send me on one of your W. papers after reading it. Or the Richmond *Enquirer*, after you have retained it one week to read, it will be *very new here then*.

Is it not astonishing that we have been all this time without a mail? The Postmaster-General has been quite accommodating towards us, and directs all the money arising from our post-office here to be applied by the Postmaster to carrying the mail. The deputy informed me that during the summer the mail was mostly carried free of expense by steamboats and that the whole fund of the summer was untouched, and would pay for carrying

the United States at his time of life had entered so completely into a knowledge of the politics of the United States, both at home and in its foreign relations. I am apprehensive Illinois is not destined *soon* to be so ably represented upon the floor of Congress."

the mail during the winter. Yet the Postmaster, who left here last July and went eastwardly to lay in m'd'z., is on the river below Rock Island with his m'd'z., stopped by the ice. Capt. Clark of the army passed him and came on here some weeks past, and yet no mail. *With this fund on hand*, the deputy here has omitted to send until 7 or 8 days past, and the Postmaster has failed to hire a carrier to bring it up. When Capt. Clark came up there was a fine opportunity of company for any man hired to bring the mail. I am apprehensive that the whole is made subservient to the convenience of a merchant, and that while I am tortured with suspense, he is calculating cent-per-cent and hiring *cheap, payable in m'd'z.* You know payments in that way are not as *imperative* as *silver or gold.* I am unacquainted with the P. M., and under excited feelings may judge him hardly. Can you give any aid in establishing a mail route to this place, which shall be an extension of the route from Edwardsville? If you can, I would be gratified if you would write the Postmaster-General. It will be of considerable advantage to your population at F. R., as ⅔ of the proposed route lies in your State, and your citizens are quite anxious it shall extend at any rate to Fever R., if no further. This would be a stepping-stone that would ultimate in continuing the route to Prairie du Chien.

I have written to the P. M.-Gen'l this mail, and think if you will add some other information as to the route, and press the subject, the P. M.-G. would establish the route. I have proposed the following routes, either of which will be perfectly agreeable:

FROM	MILES.		MILES.
Prairie du Chien to Turkey River	25		
Turkey River to Fever River - -	45	- - - - -	70
Fever River to Rock Island Post	60	to Peoria - -	190
Rock Island Post to Lewiston -	120	to Springfield -	70
Lewiston to Springfield - - - -	45	to Edwardsville	85
Springfield to Edwardsville - -	85	to St. Louis -	12
Edwardsville to St. Louis - - - -	12=392		427

NOTE.—At a point on the east side of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of Turkey River, is mines as valuable as any at Fever R., 25 m. from here, and there are 60 or 70 persons building a town they call Cassville. All the other points you well know. And at F. R. when I passed there, many computed there were 4000 or 5000 persons. Now, sir, this route (by Lewiston, Fulton county, Illinois, I think preferable) will lie all in your State below Fever River, leaving only 70 miles, the distance of this place from Fever River. Certainly, if you can, you therefore ought to aid my efforts. From here to Rock Island is in the Indian country, except the reservations for lead; below that (the line from south end Lake Michigan) is secured by your treaty of 24 Aug., 1816, to U. S. The mail could pass the whole distance and not spend one night in the Ind. country. From here to Turkey R. (Cassville), 25 m. first night; 2d night, 45 m., Galena, Jo Daviess county; start in the evening from Galena, and 3d night stay at Gratiot's diggings, 15 miles; 4th night, Rock Island Fort, 45 m.; from there I am unacquainted with the road, and wish you to write on, if you please, to the Postmaster-General and give him an account of that section of the

route. Or of the one by Peoria, as you may deem best in your judgment, to which I would readily yield, as you know the country better than I do. You, no doubt, saw the report of Osian M. Ross and 2 other persons who viewed and marked the route from Springfield to Fever River by way of Lewiston last spring. They say the distance is only 205 miles from Springfield to Galena. I estimated it at 225. They report the road to be excellent, and that several loaded wagons proceeded directly after them upon their route and found no obstructions in the way except Rock R. If the route can be made to run by the Fort this difficulty can be removed, as the land there is within our limits, free from any danger from Indians from its vicinity to the Fort, and some person can be got to settle at the ferry, if the Government will extend any privilege to him as to the ferry. The route by Peoria crosses R. R. in the Winnebago country. A glance at the map with your knowledge of this country will make all this plain to you.

A word about the Winnebagoes. By-the-by, you could do something in the furtherance of my views if you have time and disposition to do it, the latter I can never doubt. I have met many of them, and numbers are calling to see me every week. Indians are very curious and like to *see* and *feel* all who are placed near them. They remain as yet very quiet, and are engaged in hunting and those who come bring some furs and venison. I am, as you know, a novice at Indian affairs. Yet I am unable to conquer my suspicions that there is much dissatisfaction amongst the nation in relation to the people of the U. S., and I am

thoroughly convinced that if the Winnebagoes could induce any other tribe or tribes to join them, a stubborn resistance would be made to the *execution of the Red Bird.* He is a *favourite of his people*, and has obtained a high reputation amongst the whites previous to the late most unprovoked murders. You, no doubt, have had a particular account of his voluntary surrender of himself. This manly, chivalric act, his open, free, and high bearing at the time, has something more than ordinary in it. Dressed in his Yancton uniform of white unsoiled skins with a fine white dressed skin robe cast loosely across his shoulders, and mounted on a mettlesome horse with a white flag in his hand, and marching into the camp of Whistler, unconfined, with a pleasant unclouded brow to deliver himself up as a murderer, is a little out of the ordinary course of such things amongst us. You, perhaps, have seen him. He is a tall, well-made, straight Indian, about 38 or 40, and a very pleasant countenance. There is nothing remarkable in the other 7 prisoners, if you except Red Bird's son, a lad of about 12 or 15. He is a pleasant, smiling boy. Confinement goes hard with the Red Bird, and he does not have good health, but if a white man calls to see him all the *nobility* of a *great savage* appears to light up his seemingly intelligent features, and a stranger would point to him as *no every-day character.* I wish the trial and execution of the murderers was past. If a strong force is not present when Red Bird is to be hanged if convicted (of which I can see no reason to doubt), I shall not feel free from apprehension of danger. There is an opinion prevalent at St. Louis and amongst some here, that the

Winnebagoes are greatly alarmed at late events. They *were* much alarmed at the time Gen'l A. and the Ill. volunteers were in their country. The movement was sudden, beyond what the Indians had been accustomed to, and the expected reinforcements from Illinois under your order for ¼ the militia, was calculated to take them by surprise; and at the time had its effect. Since then they seem to be gradually awakening, as it were, from a deep sleep; until their fears are given to the winds and there is dead stillness—a portentious calm that all my secret endeavors can not unravel. They cannot be induced to talk on the subject. And they come and go, ask no questions about the prisoners, and if told of their health, answer to any mention of them *Uh!* Say they are well or sick it is immaterial —*uh!*—is the answer. And it is evident they wish to avoid the *mention of them.* At the same time the wives and relatives of the prisoners are greatly attended to. The wife of Red Bird does not come near. I learn she is *rich*, as Red Bird was the best hunter in his nation, and great attention is paid to her by the nation. The chiefs who have visited me profess their friendship; but somewhat anxiously enquire when they may expect their Great Father will *settle the line and mark it* between their country and the whites at the mines. They say, "we have left our country to keep our young men from having any thing to do with the people at the mines until we hear from our Great Father. This is our promise to Gen'l Atkinson, and we will keep it." They add, "Gen'l A. promised us that next summer persons should come from our G. F. to council with us about this matter and we will wait and see them."

1828, Jan'y 1.

An *old mail* has arrived from Fever River from whence our messenger who was to have gone to Rock Island returned. He met the P. M. there, who sent him back with the *old mail*, directing his young man here to send him 9 or 10 trains to draw up his m'd'z. Now when all things suit the P. M.'s convenience to bring up his m'd'z., we shall be favoured with a mail. I hardly know how to speak patiently of such conduct!

It is with sentiments of sympathetic sorrow, that I notice the death of my friend, Mr. Cook. He was a *clean politician*—and a "ripe and a good one." Few men in the U. S. at his time of life, had entered so completely into a knowledge of the politicks of the U. S., both at home and in its foreign relations. I am apprehensive Illinois is not destined *soon* to be so ably represented upon the floor of Congress. I saw it but a moment past when about to close my letter. It has cast a gloom o'er me and dashed some bright anticipations that were floating in my mind for Ill.

Should you correspond with any person at W. City likely to do me any good, you w'd greatly oblige me by casually mentioning me as one of the commissioners to treat with the Winnebagoes next summer. I am here, and it w'd be a little mortifying if some person was sent here, *over my head*, to treat with these Indians. Make my respects to Mrs. Edwards and Ninian, and suffer me to renew to you assurances of my high respect and deep obligations.

Your friend,

JOS. M. STREET.

Gov. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, ILLINOIS,

28th Jan., 1828.

SIR:—It is understood that a letter from you to my predecessor or myself, prescribing the manner in which the President required the unlocated part of the lands granted by the United States to this State, for the use of a seminary of learning, to be selected, was received at the State Department of the Government, and has been subsequently mislaid or lost. I regret exceedingly that it can not be found, and have no other alternative than to request the favor of fresh instructions, hoping that since Missouri has been permitted to locate her lands, granted for a similar purpose, in unconnected sections, the President will extend the same indulgence to this State, which is now the more necessary to its interest, from the long postponement of the location of these lands, and the consequent diminished range of selection.

I have the honor to be, very, &c.

N. EDWARDS.

Secretary of the Treasury,

Washington City.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.*

SPRINGFIELD, March 24th, 1828.

DEAR SIR:—I received last night a letter from Mr.

* Hooper Warren was one of the pioneer printers in Illinois. He was an honest, painstaking, and conscientious man, struggling always hard to keep

Jones. He states that he has had the offer of another establishment besides this, but as he has the offer of new materials, he should accept of neither. It now occurs to me that it is best to advertise this for sale, to do which your consent is necessary. It may be advertised by me without a commitment as to ownership, in this way: "The subscriber wishing to relinquish the printing business, the establishment of the *Sangamo Spectator* is offered for sale," &c. Its location is certainly improving, and will induce many young printers, wishing to embark in the business, to make the purchase.

is head above water, financially. The early printers and publishers in this tate had a hard time. Subscribers were few, and advertising amounted to ut little. It was most difficult at that time for a newspaper man to eke out bare subsistence. Pretty much all that kept the newspapers alive were the ontributions of politicians, who deemed it necessary to have an "organ". Ir. Warren was one of the original anti-slavery men in the State, and was ie editor of the *Spectator*, published at Edwardsville during the great slavery ruggle in 1823–4.

It was the first distinctively anti-slavery paper ever published in the State. opposed very strongly the convention resolution, but had previously, in the ubernatorial contest of 1822, opposed the election of Edward Coles for overnor, for personal reasons. Coles was at this time a resident of Edwards- lle. A fight had taken place between Warren and one Watkins, a half- other of Henry Clay, and Watkins was arrested. Coles, who was a great iend and correspondent of Mr. Clay, went bail for Watkins; which gave ortal offence to Warren. Though a mild-tempered man and a man of ace, this was not the only scrimmage he was in. The pro-slavery paper in dwardsville, during the convention fight, was the *Republican*, of which judge eophilus W. Smith was one of the editors. War raged with great vio- nce at this time between the two editors, and Smith undertook to cow- le Warren. Failing in his purpose, he drew a dirk on him. Warren then lled out his pistol; but the combatants were separated before any harm me to either.

In 1841, Hooper Warren, in conjunction with Zebina Eastman—another ti-slavery man—established at Lowell, LaSalle County, an anti-slavery per, called the *Genius of Liberty*. The paper was subsequently removed to icago, and became the *Western Citizen*.

I have duly considered the subject of your letter, and my intention to relinquish is the result of necessity. There are now but about 170 subscribers, and when the year is out, it is probable that one-third or more will withdraw. There is nothing that can sustain the paper but new type and its enlargement. This I am unable to do, nor would I be willing to accept the assistance of my friends to do it. I think you have gone as far in patronizing the press for public purposes as any man ought to do, without being better seconded by his friends, and I would advise you to make the most of this, without regard to them.

Had Mr. Jones accepted my proposition, I had it in contemplation to propose to Gatton & Enos to send me with goods to Sangamotown to sell for a share of the profits. That business is the best that can be now engaged in, in this part of the State. I know I am not well qualified for it, but I thought I might make a comfortable living by it.

By advertising the establishment, there is no doubt that it may be advantageously sold between this time and fall. With the compensation I shall receive from the U. S. I shall probably get enough to live on till that time.

The printing materials at a fair valuation I think would amount to about $750. Establishments that are well located are generally held from 50 to 100 per cent above their cost. A very plausible advertisement might be made out respecting this—being in the most populous part of the State, which receives the greater part of emigration—at a distance of about 80 miles from any other printing office, and not much probability of a rival establishment

near for many years to come, that it will command the official advertising of from 8 to 12 counties, &c.

I wish you to inform me as soon as possible, if you are agreed to advertising, the price you would be willing to receive, and the terms of payment you would give.

I am, very respectfully, sir, your ob't serv't,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency, NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XIX.

Letter of Joseph M. Street; announces the death of Red Bird, the Indian chief, from natural causes; delay in the trial of the other Indians; the Indians peacefully awaiting the promised treaty; believes he has obtained to a very considerable standing with the Indians, and gained the respect of the whites at Prairie du Chien; Indians deeply impressed with his great importance and consider him a "great chief"; his voluminous communications to the secretary of war; his long absence from his family; letter of Hooper Warren; "is heartily tiried of struggling for a subsistence in a laborious, unprofitable, and thankless business"; newspapers have but little influence, readers are few, and are taught to believe that all that appears in a newspaper is a lie; a printing establishment a poor investment; Colonel Cox preparing to "keep entertainment", has quit drinking and appears a new man; letters of Governor Edwards to General Clark; the the governor out of patience with the government for so long delaying the removal of the Indians from the ceded lands in this State; suggests that force must be substituted for persuasion in dealing with the Indians; if government will not remove Indians, he will not hesitate to do so on his own responsibility; letter of John McLean, postmaster-general, in regard to the accounts of Daniel P. Cook; intimate and friendly relations always existing between Governor Edwards and Mr. Cook with Mr. McLean.

LETTER OF JOSEPH M. STREET.

ST. LOUIS, 27th March, 1828.

On board the *Bolivar* for home.

DEAR SIR:—I have been so busily engaged since my arrival here, that I had not an opportunity of writing to

you, and from your long silence I feel uneasy least you should have either forgotten me, or desired our correspondence to cease. I wrote you from Prairie du Chien, and have long anxiously examined the office for a line from you. It is difficult to express that kind of unpleasant feeling which would be the consequence of a conviction that my fears are correct. Be it as it may I can never forget my obligations to you, and shall ever seize every opportunity to evince my entire and devoted friendship for you.

The Indians are all quiet and promise to remain so. The Red-Bird died the 16th ult'o, of a bowel complaint, the other 7 Indians are in confinement, and are expected to be tried the 2nd Monday in May. The Indians are much dissatisfied with the delay, and would have been perfectly content that they should have been shot at the time. *Now* I apprehend something unpleasant from a reaction arising out of the delay. The most influential chiefs unite in the strongest assurances of uninterrupted peace until the promised Treaty this summer. A member of Congress says: "Mr. Barbour told me Cass and McKinney would be the commissioners, and the arrangements would take place so soon as the appropriation bill passes."

I have not spent this winter idle, nor have I neglected to avail myself of your friendly advice in my intercourse with the Indians, I have, I believe, attained to very considerable standing with the Indians, and have gained the respect and affections of the principal whites at Prairie du Chien. The Indians I learn from others are deeply impressed with my importance and consider me a great

chief. I may be guilty of great egotism in this account; but I would not venture to make it to one who will not place it to the proper account. To a friend on whose plan and advice I am acting, I could not do less than assure him of my success in persuing his admonitions.

I have made 3 very volumnious communications to the Secretary of War, containing each 10 or 12 pages, and such portions as I have submitted to *particular* friends (*Eastwardly confidentially*) are pronounced "*able.*" Could I have spared the time from my family *I should like to have seen you.* I have been so long away I am very unhappy until I again see them, I have resolved not to return without them, and shall go on early in May with my family. If I am detained here any time I will hire a horse and come to see you.

In my recommendation I have strongly urged the purchase of all the mining district up to a line due south from the portage of the Wisconsin to the line drawn due west from the south end of Lake Michigan. The most valuable mineral lands are entirely east of the lands of the Ottoways, Chippeways, and Pottowattomies of the Illinois. I sent an exploring expedition out in that direction this winter, and have laid down a pretty correct map of the country, one copy of which I forwarded to the Secretary of War, and would have been gratified to have shown you the other.

On politicks I say not one word. I hope to become a useful and important Indian Agent, and shall leave it to others to squable about the election of a President.

I saw Miss Margarette, and was with her occasionally

two days at Gen'l Clark's, and was much gratified to learn you were well. The boat is about to put off. Make my respects to Mrs. E. and believe me your friend, with profound respect and high consideration,

JOS. M. STREET.

P. S. A printed bill sent on to me from Mr. C. I see contains an appropriation for the militia of Illinois and Michigan Territory. J. M. S.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Governor of Illinois,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

SPRINGFIELD, April 1st, 1828.

DEAR SIR:—I received by last mail your letter of 26th ult. I had previously sent you one giving information of Mr. Jones declining to purchase this establishment, and requesting your consent to advertise it for sale, which, it appears, you had not received at the date above mentioned. Although from the tenor of your last letter, I might infer authority to advertise, I nevertheless think it proper to receive your instructions on that particular point.

In my letter referred to, I said I would not be willing to receive the assistance of my friends in improving this establishment. I am heartily tired of struggling for a subsistence in a laborious, unprofitable, and thankless business. I duly appreciate your offer, but in candor I must say, that during our whole acquaintance I have drawn too much upon your indulgence, and that I could

not consent to the proposal unless I were convinced I should thereby render *you* a service. That this would not be the case, I am certain, unless you have political views, and even then, in the present state of things, the end could not be much promoted by the undertaking. Newspapers at present have but little influence, especially in this State. The readers are but few, and these are taught to believe that all that appears in a newspaper is a lie of course. It would, moreover be a continual expense to you, without a corresponding income. The expenses would be certain, and would have to be promptly met, while the income would be doubtful and slow in its forthcoming. In the mean time *I* should have to take my living out of it, and *you* lay out of your money. I believe it to be a fact, that there is no printing establishment in the U. S. than which the same capital invested in other pursuits, would not be more profitable. There are but few establishments in the country that do make money, and those are such as have a commanding, *monopolizing* patronage. Yet there are thousands eager to engage in it. In the old settled parts of the country there is no business more completely overdone. For this reason I am persuaded this office might be advantageously sold by advertising. Gen. James Adams has a brother-in-law in Utica, N. Y., a printer, who I suppose wishes to establish himself in this country, as the General some time ago asked me if I would be willing to take him as a partner.

Col. Cox has re-entered his house, and is preparing to keep entertainment. He has quit drinking and appears a new man. There is something inexplicable to me about

ıe property. It was sold about the middle of January, 827. I asked the Colonel about it last night. He said ıere was another sale last summer under an older execu- ion, but that he thought at the next court he would set oth sales aside. It will be too late for you to redeem nder the first sale after the middle of this month. I will owever inquire more about it before I seal this letter. You wish to know my plans. I have not matured any, ut intend to be on the lookout for more eligible means of ving. I would prefer an occupation that would lead me ccasionally to travel. I have written to a friend of mine ı Albany, N. Y., formerly a member of Congress, whose ımily connections in New York and Vermont are distantly onnected with mine, to apply for an appointment in the ew Territory of Huron, and bring out a colony, and I ould join them. I have a great idea of that Territory. Vith mining and agriculture together, times must be good ıere. I anticipate that it will outnumber this State in opulation in a few years.

I remain, sir, your friend,

H. WARREN.

P. S. I have just returned from a search for informa- ion concerning Cox property. I found no one that knew nything about it until I met Mr. Matheny. He says the econd sale mentioned by Col. Cox, was on the execution n the judgment assigned by you to John Reynolds, that here being no bidders, it was bought in by Richard aylor for Reynolds, and that the time for a redemption y a creditor under the first sale will be out about the 5th of this month. The sale took place a few days after

my arrival at this place with my family on the 10th January, 1827. H. W.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTERS OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO GENERAL CLARK.*

BELLEVILLE, ILL., 25th May, 1828.

SIR:—The inclosed letters are for your inspection. You will please return them. I have only time to ask you whether any, and what definitive arrangements have been made for removing the Indians from the ceded lands of this State, in pursuance of the directions of the Secretary of War, and what is the prospect of immediate success? The Secretary's letter gave me reason to believe that this measure would have been accomplished before this time. The General Government has been applied too long enough for its own action to have freed us from so serious a grievance. If it declines acting with effect, those Indians will be removed, and that very promptly.

Very respectfully I am, sir,
Your mo. ob't s't,
NINIAN EDWARDS.

Gen'l CLARK, Superintendent, &c.

* Governor Edwards was evidently out of all patience with the general government which had so long delayed to remove the Indians from the ceded lands in this State. He therefore gives notice to General Clark that "if it declined acting with effect, those Indians will be removed, and that very promptly."

BELLEVILLE, ILL., May 29th, 1828.

SIR:—I have, this moment, received, and sincerely thank ou for your letter of the 26th inst., with its important nclosures. The proofs furnished by the latter, of a hostile isposition on the part of the Indians occupying the ceded nds of this State would, of themselves, render it a duty o insist upon their prompt removal agreeably to the xpectations so unequivocally authorized by the Hon. ecretary of War. Aggravated as that hostility must be, y the recent unfortunate conflict, as communicated by lajor Ross, that measure is imperatively demanded by just regard to the safety of our frontier settlers.

I am too well informed of your own personal exertions o prevail upon those Indians to remove, and of your trong desire to preserve tranquility between them and the itizens of this State, to doubt that you have done all that an be accomplished without actual coercion. And observ- ng as you do, "that repeated exertions have been made, or several years past, to induce those Indians to remove rom the ceded lands of Illinois, particularly by the Agent nd Sub-Agents of those tribes," I trust you must see the ecessity of substituting force, for persuasion. However ustifiable might be a temporizing course on the part of he General Government, were this now one of its Terri- ories, it has no right to authorize, even temporarily, an nvasion of the rights of a sovereign and independent tate, and therefore were the President himself to assent o the request of the Kickapoo Prophet and his party to emain another year at their present village it would not e submitted to.

It is obvious from your communication that a part at least of those Indians, do not intend to remove until next year, I therefore beg leave to ask you, whether force will be resorted to, to compel them to do so? If you are not authorized to answer this inquiry, I permit myself to hope you will lose no time in consulting the President on the subject. In the meantime I request the favor of you to apprize those Indians, as soon as possible, that whatever may be the President's determination, it is not at all probable that they will be permitted to remain, and that if any act of hostility shall be committed on the frontier, I shall not hesitate to remove them on my own responsibility.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, sir, your mo. ob't s't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Gen'l CLARK, &c.

LETTER OF JOHN McLEAN.*

WASHINGTON, 13 June, 1828.

DEAR SIR:—You will see from Mr. Clay's report to the President, published in the enclosed paper, that Mr. Cook's account has not been finally adjusted. From his note, which, if I mistake not, I transmitted to you, I was under an impression that there was nothing due for the late services of Mr. Cook. If you have the note, and would enclose it to me, I should be gratified.

* This letter was written when Mr. McLean was postmaster-general under John Quincy Adams. The most intimate and friendly relations always existed between Governor Edwards and Mr. Cook with Mr. McLean.

Washington 13 June 1828

Dear Sir,

You will see from Mr Clays report to the President published in the enclosed papers, that Mr Cook's account has not been finally adjusted. Upon his note, which, if I mistake not, I transmitted to you, I was under an impression that there was nothing due for the late moving of Mr Cook. If you have the note, and would endorse it to me, I should be gratified.

It appears to me that the salary of Mr Cook ought to be continued until his decease, as he was on his way to Washington, and was prevented from prosecuting his journey by disease. In coming to Washington, he was as much in the service of the Government as while at Cuba.

With great respect
Your Obt Servt
John McLean

Gen. Edwards

It appears to me that the salary of Mr. Cook ought to be continued until his decease, as he was on his way to Washington, and was prevented from prosecuting his journey by disease. In coming to Washington he was as much in the service of the Government as while at Cuba. With great respect,

Your ob't serv't,

JOHN MCLEAN.

Gov. EDWARDS.

CHAPTER XX.

Letter of Governor Edwards to the secretary of war; demands to know what measures have been taken to remove the Indians from the ceded lands in Illinois; letter to John McLean of Illinois; tenders him the olive branch; treats of the senatorship, and of the election of a Congressman; the election of Gen. Duncan to Congress; Smith, Kinney, West, Reynolds, Bond, Kane, and others would be for him, while all would be opposed to McLean; Smith has declared opposition to him, and is the life and soul of the party opposed to him; what will be Smith's management to obtain the election of senator?; exposes the schemes of these men; thinks an alliance with Forquer would be more advantageous than one with Duncan; the object of Smith, Kinney, and Co.; they would disfranchise every man who would happen to differ from them in opinion; the election of Forquer to Congress would ensure the election of McLean to the senate; little known of John McLean at the present day; McLean County named in his honor; his official career; member of the legislature and speaker of the house of representatives, twice elected U. S. senator, first for a short term, second time for a full term; dies at Shawneetown, after serving for the long session of the long term; beautiful and fitting tribute paid to his memory by his surviving colleague, Elias Kent Kane; sketches of him by Governor Reynolds, Governor Ford, and William H. Brown; another letter of Governor Edwards to John McLean; further speculations in regard to congressional matters; Fever River an important factor in elections at this time; will not go for Pope for senator; letter of Sidney Breese; writes in relation to ordering an election for the legislature from Randolph County, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of John Lacy; wants to get a friend elected.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, 17th June, 1828.

SIR:—In the course of last year I had the honor to address your predecessor on the subject of the removal of various tribes of Indians from the ceded lands of this State, and I beg leave to refer to his answer, to show that it justified a reasonable expectation that the energies of the Government, if necessary, would before this time, have been exerted to protect us from an annoyance which no free and independent State of this Union is bound to submit to; but with which, this has been outrageously harassed for years past

This grievance still continuing, and aggravated as it has become by recent occurences, of which I am bound to presume you are informed, I feel it my duty to ask you, what further measures in regard to this matter may be expected from the General Government?

I have the honor to be, &c.,

N. EDWARDS.

Hon. Sec. War.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO JOHN McLEAN OF ILLINOIS.*

VANDALIA, 24th June, 1828.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

DEAR SIR:—Authorized by what passed between us last winter, to consider all former enmities at an end,

* Perhaps less is known at the present day of John McLean than any public man of his day who occupied such a distinguished position. His name and

and confiding in your honor, I address this confidential communication to you, under the expectation that, if its

memory seem to have almost died out in the State, and it is now practically impossible to gather much of anything in relation to his personal history. That which is most generally known at the present day is the fact that one of our great interior counties—McLean—was named in his honor, when organized, December 25th, 1830, only a few weeks after his death.

John McLean was born in North Carolina in 1791. When four years old, his father removed to Logan County, Kentucky. The son, after acquiring a limited education, studied law, and in the year 1815 settled in Shawneetown, where he entered upon the practice of his profession. His first appearance in public life was as the first representative in Congress from the State of Illinois, elected in 1818—beating Daniel P. Cook by a majority of fourteen votes, after an exciting contest in which both candidates greatly distinguished themselves. His next appearance in political life was as representative from Gallatin County in the legislature of 1820-2.

He was again elected to the house from the same county in 1826 and in 1828, becoming speaker of the house for both terms. He was first elected to the United States senate in 1824, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Governor Edwards and to serve out the remainder of his term, which expired March 4, 1825. The resignation of Governor Edwards made a vacancy which could have been filled by a gubernatorial appointment, but Governor Coles declined to appoint any person to hold until the next meeting of the legislature, as that event was so near at hand that the appointee would have but a very short time to serve. Jesse B. Thomas was the colleague of McLean at this time, and Daniel P. Cook was the only representative from Illinois.

In 1829, Mr. McLean was again elected senator for six years to succeed Jesse B. Thomas. The question as to whom should be the successor of Mr. Thomas was agitated a long time before the election was to take place, and the letters here given of Governor Edwards and Mr. McLean are in respect of that election, and they are certain to be read with a very great interest by all persons who desire to familiarize themselves in the early political history of the State. Whatever doubts there may have been in regard to the election of Mr. McLean, they were dissipated before the election took place. He received the unanimous vote of both houses of the legislature—a circumstance without a parallel in the history of our State. When the bank mania was sweeping over the State, Mr. McLean was the speaker of the house of representatives, and attacked the whole system with a boldness and vigor which gave great uneasiness to the bank party. To obtain a hearing he was obliged to resign his position as speaker, as the house had refused to go into committee of the whole where he could be heard. Indignant at the treatment which he had

objects do not meet your approbation, you will return it to me and say nothing about it.

received, he made a speech remarkable for its ability and eloquence, and predicted all the consequences which resulted from the establishment of that banking system.*

He took his seat as senator on the 7th day of December, 1829, and served through the long session until its adjournment, May 31st, 1830. He died after a short illness at his home in Shawneetown, October 14, 1830. At the commencement of the short session of that Congress, on the 9th day of December, 1830, his surviving colleague, Hon. Elias Kent Kane, announced his death in the senate, and in beautiful and fitting language paid a just tribute to his memory. "In private life," said Mr. Kane, "he was remarkable for his benevolence, frankness, and independence of character. No one in the circle in which he moved had a larger share of the confidence and affection of his fellowmen. He was by profession a lawyer, possessed of a vigorous mind, and a rapid but easy elocution. These qualifications, added to an honesty of purpose universally accorded to him, raised him to the front rank of his profession, and there sustained him. As a stateman, the people of Illinois would long remember him as the author of many of the most valued portions of their statute books, and as the acute and able presiding officer over the deliberation of the most numerous branch of their legislature."

Both of the terms of service of Mr. McLean in the United States senate were too short to enable him to acquire that distinction which he would have otherwise secured. The cotemporaries of Mr. McLean in this State are now nearly all dead. Pretty much all that is known of him now is by tradition and through the brief notices of him that have been made by the historians of the State. The most life-like portraiture of him is by Governor Reynolds in his "Pioneer History of Illinois". He regards him as one of the greatest of our pioneers. He describes him as "a man of gigantic mind, of noble and manly form, and a lofty and dignified bearing. His person was large, and formed on that natural excellence which at once attracted the attention and admiration of all beholders. The vigor and compass of his mind were exceedingly great, and his eloquence flowed in torrents, deep, strong, and almost irresistable." The Governor contends that there was no man in Illinois before or since his day that surpassed him in pure, natural eloquence. No man possessed a stronger hold upon the people than he did, and his death was considered a great public calamity.

Mr. William H. Brown, in a memoir of the late Hon. Daniel P. Cook, read before the Chicago Historical Society, speaks of Mr. McLean as a gentleman possessed of fine talents and unblemished character, who was in his

* "Ford's History of Illinois."

You have been for many years an attentive and watchful observer of my conduct, and I may confidently say, you have always found me true to my friends, and have never seen one single instance that would justify a suspicion that I had not always been faithful to my engagements, or that I had authorized expectations without the most inflexible determination to fulfil them. So far, I can not doubt you are willing to concede to me, however objectionable you may consider portions of my conduct, to which these principles may have on some occasions led me. I therefore flatter myself that I may address you with entire frankness, without any danger of having my sincerity questioned.

Without intending to commit myself to any course, or to preclude myself from acting any part which future circumstances may seem to require of me, I have no hesitation in declaring to you not only as I did last winter, that I have no disposition to oppose your election to the Senate of the U. S., but that I at present sincerely wish you success, and would be happy if any exertions of mine could ensure it. I have never forgotten that your father was one of my earliest and warmest friends, and notwithstanding the relations in which we have often stood to each other, I have felt less hostility towards you, than regret for the occasions that have arrayed us in opposition to each other. We have both our faults. I

time one of the most popular men in the State, and possessed in a rare degree the esteem of all who enjoyed his personal acquaintance. Governor Ford speaks of him as being possessed of a fertility of genius and of an overpowering eloquence. It is not now known that John McLean has a single relative living in the State of Illinois.

am sensible of mine, and not altogether ignorant of yours. We both stand in need of some allowances. I am ready, from the most disinterested motives, to make many, and I mistake your natural disposition if you are less disposed to make some. Without any object therefore to divide us, perseverance in future hostility would not even have the apology of a reasonable motive. Some advantages might even result to you from a different course. For I shall not be in your way, and would be glad to aid you, if I could see a fair opportunity of doing so. And this I say whether Mr. Pope shall be a candidate or not. He has no chance to be elected, though efforts are making to convince his friends that he would at least be the second choice of Smith, West, Jno. Reynolds, the Duncans, &c., and the first choice of some of them. Whatever may be the cause, he is "upon the fence" as to Forquer and Duncan, and though I will fall out with no one for his neutrality in relation to our local affairs, I will not act for, and can not wish any man success, who, under similar circumstances, chooses to occupy such ground. And hence, I have so often declined to respond to the various attempts to draw me out in relation to Mr. Pope's pretensions, that my aid is not, as it need not be, calculated on for him. His neutrality cancels all claims upon me to be otherwise in regard to his election. To your neutrality I have no reason to object. And though, both of you occupying this ground, I should certainly wish you success, it is probable that the relation in which he and I have hitherto stood might induce me to decline taking any part in a contest between you and him.

Hoping that I am distinctly understood, I will now proceed to submit to your deliberate reflection a few remarks upon the present state of affairs. "A word to the wise is enough." I shall therefore barely intimate the views I entertain.

Judging from the remarks you made to me last winter, concerning Gen'l Duncan, I should suppose you neither consider him as having claims to, nor qualifications for the station of Representative of this State in Congress. How then is his election to operate upon you? He can not be elected but upon the Presidential question. His election would strengthen and be a complete triumph to the most prominent of the Jackson party, to those who have given themselves the lead, who intend to be considered the heads of the party, who from the stations they occupy, the newspaper they have got up, the zeal they ostentatiously display, have the fairest chance in the world to be so considered. These are Smith, Kinney, West, Reynolds, Bond, Kane, &c. They will claim the credit of Duncan's election, and if zeal and energy can entitle them to it, they will deserve it. He must recognize and be prepared to requite that claim. He prefers them to you, and it is natural he should do so, from remarks you are known to have made about him. But were he otherwise disposed, how could he benefit you? He has no particular friends of his own that he could influence in your favor. They are combined to divide the loaves and fishes among themselves. He could not, and if he could would not oppose them. They yielded him a more cordial support at the last election than you

did. There is no man to whom they are more opposed than yourself, and this merely because they consider you in their way. Smith has openly declared opposition to you in terms of degrading reproach, and evidencing the most determined hostility. He has not hesitated to avow his preference of both, Judge Lockwood and Judge Pope, and he, you may be assured of it, is the life and soul of the party, and without timely and vigorous exertions, will be the Senator. He is managing most dexterously for that purpose, and by affecting an unpretending course, will contrive to keep up the spirit of rivalship between Kinney, Reynolds, and Bond so as to render them unwilling to yield to each other and finally dispose them to settle down upon himself. At the same time, by his professions of friendship for Judges Lockwood and Pope (neither of whom he considers likely to be in his way), he hopes, if not entirely to conciliate their friends, at least to neutralize their opposition. And I am mistaken, if his success in the latter is not greater than was to have been supposed. Not only Smith, but West, Jno. Reynolds, and Snyder, all candidates for the Legislature, profess to prefer Mr. Pope to any one else. Some people do not understand these demonstrations, but they can not deceive me. At all events, some one of these men will be your competitor. Who ever he may be, Duncan's election will give him additional strength. It is worse than folly to calculate upon any advantage to you from jarring and division among them, Kane knows how to prevent that. But if the worst come Jno. Reynolds would be satisfied with Smith's present station,

Kinney with the promise of succeeding me, and Bond to hold his present office a little longer, till their power can become completely consolidated by the Union of all the stations in Congress and all the principal offices in the State. While they had Cook and myself to contend with your services were important to them. It can not have escaped your penetration that they have long since come to the conclusion that they can do without you, and would sooner dispense with your co-operation than allow you the chance of stepping into the high places which they themselves want to occupy. You have therefore nothing to hope for from these men, and everything to lose by permitting them to gain the ascendency for which they are so vigorously struggling.

But may not Duncan's election be more adverse to you in other respects than Forquer's?

Should you lose the election to the Senate, which, without the utmost exertions, is very probable, you would not, I persume, wish to lessen your chance of going, if so disposed, to the House of Representatives. Look forward then, to the next census so near at hand. The State will then have to be divided into Congressional districts. Forquer, who can not be kept down, will be permanently located in Springfield. Duncan and you will be more likely to be found in the same district even if there should be three. This will certainly be the case if there be but two. Were one to begin at the base line on the Mississippi, then run east to the 3d principal meridian, thence with the latter to the northern boundary of the State, thence with said boundary to the Mississippi and down the same to the

beginning it would contain more than half the population of the State. Throw this district even farther north, and it would only be the more certain to leave you and Duncan in the same district. By supporting him then you would be putting up a rival and increasing the power of a formidable combination who would lose no opportunity of keeping *him up* and *you down*. Why? Because they dread you as a rival, fear nothing from him, and would calculate upon rendering any strength they might give him, available to themselves. And remember, as I told you last winter, that his want of capacity to take an active part in the business of the House, by causing him to devote more of his time to correspondence with his constituents, will render it the more difficult to compete with him.

On the other hand, would not harmony and co-operation between you and Mr. Forquer promise advantage to you both? He will be out of your way, can have no interest in opposing you, and is too generous, high-minded and fearless, not to fully appreciate, and reciprocate your friendship. You can mutually aid and strengthen each other. You have both to encounter the same opposition; a powerful combination from which neither of you can hope for anything, without descending to means which I flatter myself, you would both scorn; with reciprocal confidence in each other, what is there to prevent a common cause, a common interest, from producing a harmonious union between you? This would, I should think, be certain to bring about an equally harmonious co-operation between your respective friends.

Again, how would your open and avowed support of Mr. Forquer operate upon you?

I have already showed that you have nothing to hope for from the combination that have taken Gen'l Jackson into their special keeping, because they wish to gain for themselves the same object which you desire. As your own Jackson friends will suport you it is probable the Administration party (Mr. Forquer's friends), having no candidate of their own, will be able to decide the election. How then will they be most likely gained? Smith, Kinney & Co. insist upon making the Presidential question control every election in the State, which is, in effect, to proscribe and disfranchise every man who happens to differ in opinion with them. In vain should we boast of the right of opinion and freedom of speech if demagogues can prevail upon the people, the legitimate source of power, to subject the exercise of those privileges to such severe penalties. Laws for this purpose could not render those penalties a whit more unjust and oppressive. Those, against whom they are denounced can not but regard them with indignant reprobation. This, therefore, must be a poor way to gain the Administration men, and can scarcely secure the sanction of resonable, dispassionate, and just Jackson men. Consolidation has hitherto been the terror of the great Republican party of the Union. Why? Because of the danger of submitting the local affairs of the States to the control and influence of the General Government. But if the Presidential election is to be made to control the State elections, it must have its influence on State affairs, and will eventuate in the most dangerous species of consolidation in fact, by strengthening the Executive Department of the Federal

Government the most powerful and most to be dreaded. Besides, since both Mr. Forquer and his friends utterly disclaim all reliance upon the Presidential question for his election, and acknowledge beforehand that his success should not be considered a test of the relative strength of Gen'l Jackson and Mr. Adams, there seems to be no reasonable motive for insisting upon considering it as such. Adams men are not to be gained by such means nor are honest Jackson men to be lost, by opposing a principle so anti-republican. Can you then doubt that by coming out boldly upon these liberal principles (while you maintain, with the utmost zeal, your preference for Gen'l Jackson), you would be much more likely, than your opponents to gain the Administration men and Mr. Forquer's friends generally? Or can you believe it possible to be elected under existing circumstances without their aid? I think you can, by a bold and decided course, command their warmest support. To succeed in such a gov't as this, boldness and decision are essential. A man's enemies are always disposed to put him down. Neutrality gains him nothing with them, while it is calculated by weakening the confidence of his friends to render them willing to give him up, or fearful to trust him. I do most sincerely believe, that with your assistance, Forquer's election would be put beyond all doubt, and that his success would secure yours. If Gen'l Robinson could be got to co-operate heartily, I would be willing to insure both events.

If our views correspond, and you do your part, I shall not fail to try my best with my confidential friends to give

the best impulse I can to your interest and ultimately every of assistance in my power. But I have no idea that success is attainable without industrious and energetic exertion.

Let me hear from you as soon as possible and tell me frankly what you would be at. Anything shall be confidential that you request to be so considered. No human being knows of the writing of this letter. If Forquer comes before I send it off I shall show it to him.

Your mo. ob't s'v't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

JOHN MCLEAN.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

BELLEVILLE, 1 July, 1828.

DEAR SIR:—Since I wrote to you I have seen Mr. Forquer, and am authorized to say he fully accords with all I wrote you. I find other important friends, and among them, Wm. H. Brown of Vandalia, Alfred Cowles of this place, and McKee of the land office, at Edwardsville (the most influential man in the county), perfectly disposed to go for you. Dr. Todd of Springfield, I have no doubt, will co-operate. I could mention many others. Don't let me be misunderstood in relation to myself. I am *unconditionally* for you, let you take what course you choose in relation to the congressional election, and I am now beginning to feel fully as anxious for your election as for Forquer's. His, if the reports brought *by all parties* from Fever river are at all to be relied on, is not the least doubtful. A new impulse is given to his election in this part of the State, where his interest has, as I believe, been pre-

dominant. Leading Jackson men are taking the most active part for him, and the circumstance of his having been a mechanic is beginning to operate in some places like a charm. My object in writing to you is that you may have all the facts before you that are necessary to enable you to form a deliberate and correct opinion of the course you ought to pursue. I have no right to advise you, and if I could, I would not induce you to act against the convictions of your own judgment. If I have any anxiety for you to support Forquer it is as much on your account as his. As some of his friends, you know, would have to seem to turn a sort of summerset in going for you; a good apology would be the most easy means of inducing them to do so. Some probably could not be prevailed upon without it, and for my soul I cannot see a reasonable motive which you can have for declining to afford it. New combinations, I think, are forming; ultimately Judge Smith or Judge Pope will be your most formidable competitor. You can, I think, with Forquer's assistance, beat either. You ought to understand how things may work, and are probably intended to work. Give your own judgment fair play, and you will not be taken by surprise. Mr. Pope, it is understood, is, at heart in favour of Duncan. It is said that he is more. He is therefore thought to be in co-operation with the party that supports Duncan. At present he (Mr. Pope) withdraws his pretensions for the Senate, still manifesting a willingness, however, to be elected. This leaves you entirely to a contest with your old friends; rivalry may make you and them bitter against each other. They may eventually

become willing to give you up entirely for a new friend, if they find they cannot elect one of themselves. Mr. Pope is openly an administration man. They may think that with their aid, and that of administration men, Mr. Pope can be elected, while he has a good chance of conciliating them to him, as their second choice. It is only a few days since that I heard one of Mr. Pope's warmest friends suggest the idea that Mr. Kane would like to see him out of his way two years hence. This game may be played, and it will be a most dangerous one for you. But suppose Mr. Pope should not offer at all. What can you gain by supporting Duncan? and will you not by doing so be strengthening the very men you have to contend with? Having no one to oppose, that requires your united exertions it is obvious you must split among yourselves. As I am one of the last men to give up a friend, you may think strange that I will not go for Mr. Pope. The reason is plain; if he chooses to leave his old friends I will not go with him. It may be that you and I may be as opposite as he and myself in our views and wishes in that case, though I shall most sincerely wish you success, yet I may not feel myself authorized to take an active part, but if I take any part against you, in his favour, I authorize you to give any publicity you please to the assurance which I now make to you in reference to the next Senatorial election.

If I had any right to advise you I would endeavor to show you how much it would be to your advantage to avoid any angry county contest; conciliate your own county and turn your attention to the election in the

counties up the Wabash in reference to the Senatorial election.

Your mo. ob. s't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Hon. JNO. MCLEAN.

LETTER OF SIDNEY BREESE.

KASKASKIA, Aug. 24, 1828.

DEAR SIR:—Understanding you will be at Vandalia on the 25th, I have thought proper to inform you that you will soon be notified of the death of John Lacy,* our representative *elect*, and to request you in the name of your friends here to *defer* ordering an election until they can more at length communicate with you. We are anxious to get a *friend* elected, and have believed that the *chance* will be best after the Presidential election—of this, however, we are not satisfied. We will write you on the subject at some other time. I have no news.

Yours, truly, SIDNEY BREESE.

Governor EDWARDS, Vandalia.

P. S.—Judge Smith has taken your *exceptions* under advisement. They were argued at length by Kane and your humble serv't. S. B.

* Thomas Mather, afterward the president of the Illinois State Bank, was elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of John Lacy.

CHAPTER XXI.

Letters of John McLean of Illinois; question of the United States senatorship; poor opinion of Judge Browne; meets the advances of Governor Edwards frankly; thinks but little of Smith, Kinney, and West; honest men should unite to prevent the rule of unprincipled pretenders; concert among political friends honorable when not prostituted to unjust and improper purposes; letter of Hooper Warren, in regard to the sale of the Sangamo "Spectator"; letters of George Forquer, Alfred Cowles and Benjamin Mills; mandamus suit in which Governor Edwards was a party; notice of Benjamin Mills; a gifted, brilliant, and eloquent man; one of the early lawyers of Galena; member of the legislature of 1832-3; chairman of the managers to prosecute the impeachment of Judge Smith; his unrivalled speech; shows Judge Drummond his notes; "off coat and roll up sleeves"; prejudice against Yankees in Illinois; though a Kentuckian, Daniel P. Cook stigmatized as a Yankee; anecdote of Daniel P. Cook; reminiscences of Benjamin Mills by John T. Stuart; the long and honorable career of Mr. Stuart in Illinois; Mr. Mills runs for Congress against William L. May; defeated by unfair means; the vote between Mills and May; Mills unrivaled as a conversationist and had a ready and delicate wit rarely surpassed; a victim of consumption, like Daniel P. Cook he left his Illinois home to breathe his last in the land of his birth; John McLean, Benjamin Mills, and Daniel P. Cook, three men whose names will always stand out pre-eminent in the history of Illinois; though Mills, as a Galenian, was defeated for Congress, four other citizens of the same town were subsequently elected to that position.

LETTERS OF JOHN McLEAN OF ILLINOIS.

SHAWNEE TOWN, 5th Sept., 1828.

DEAR SIR:—It is with much satisfaction that I acknowl-

edge yours of the 14th ult., and for the information it contains you have my thanks, and for the interest you feel in my prosperity my gratitude.* That the persons you name will stop at no point to defeat me in any thing I may undertake, I have no doubt; how successful they may be depends more upon a union to be formed with those differing with me in relation to the next Presidential election than upon any strength or influence of their own. Judge Wilson, I am confident, will not be a candidate. But Judge Browne intends to be one (I may be deceived). But I believe he can start with very little strength; yet he may make some small division and do some injury. I know him to be more implacable, false, unprincipled, and ungrateful than any man in Ill.; or otherwise he is under some delusion that drives him into madness. He may defeat me altho' he never can succeed himself. It is from this quarter that I have most of combination to apprehend; altho' I am well aware, could I dispose myself to act upon them, that I have an abundance of grounds; in his conduct during the last election, not only to defeat him of office, but, I believe, to remove him from the office he holds; yet to do this I have no disposition. I have only to add that I will pursue your advice as far as possible, and that I will not be a candidate unless my prospect of success shall be very fair. My rule of conduct for the

* The frank and open letter of Governor Edwards to Mr. McLean was met in a corresponding spirit by the latter. Mr. McLean evidently wrote under considerable excitement, and he anticipated a degree of opposition which was never manifested; but he had the supreme satisfaction of having received, as hitherto stated, a unanimous vote in the legislature for the senate of the United States.

future is to serve my friends and not to forget my enemies.

(In mutual confidence.) Yours, &c.,

J. McLEAN.

His Excellency N. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

SHAWANEE TOWN, 11th Sept., 1828.

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

DEAR SIR:—When I answered yours of the 14th ult., I had not received yours of the 24th June, by reason of some oversight in the post-office, I suppose; altho' in your last you alluded to the former. Not having seen it, I was shorter and less particular in my reply than I should otherwise have been. I well remember the conversation which we had last winter a year, from which you were, according to my intention, fully authorized to consider all former discord and unfriendly feelings at an end; and I am glad you so understood, but much more gratified that the sentiment is so fully reciprocated on your part. That I have seen things in you which I deemed faults is true, and that I am guilty of many myself I am well aware. But that you have always been true to your friends and faithful to your engagements, I am and have for a long time, been fully satisfied; and it has always been to me a source of regret that we were, either with or without sufficient cause, in a state of collision. But that is over, and on my part, I assure you that I only recollect it to regret that it ever existed. I am also satisfied that the new leaders of those with whom I was once publicly associated (new men who are deserters to our ranks) are as unprinci-

pled now as they were before they were cast out of the ranks to which they formerly belonged; I allude particularly to Smith, Kinney, and West. As to Reynolds and one or two more, I have not yet formed an opinion; whether they be dishonest or deluded, to me is yet doubtful. I hope for the best. That this trio, with a few more in their train, are capable of and disposed to use every artifice and delusion in their power to thrust themselves into office, regardless of the means by which they may effect it, I am thoroughly convinced. And I am fully satisfied that in Illinois it is high time that the virtuous and honourable of all parties should unite to cut short or to prevent the rule and reign of unprincipled pretenders. As related to my course in the last congressional election, I can say to you frankly that the presidential election had not the influence of a feather on my mind; as betwixt Mr. Duncan and Forquer, all my personal friendship and feelings were in favour of the latter, and I was truly sorry that there were some circumstances which made it impossible for me consistently at that time to aid or favour his election; these circumstances it would be unnecessary and perhaps improper to name, as they were totally distinct from either of the individuals or general politicks. I can assure you that nothing would be more agreeable to me than to cultivate and preserve with Mr. Forquer the strictest friendship, both personal and political, for I believe him honourable and worthy.

When I wrote to you last, perhaps I said a little more than I ought to have done about Judge B., he being your friend, as I presume; I was a little testy, you will excuse

me; not that I retract. But perhaps I should not have said it to you. That there should be an understanding amongst friends, and concert and mutual assistance in politics, as well as in private affairs, I am fully convinced; and I am sure no man can justly blame such understanding or concert so long as it should be honourable, and not prostituted to effect unjust and improper purposes; and to promote the views or advance the interest of honest and honourable individuals never can be such prostitution. Altho' I have been for some time engaged in electioneering contests, I never practiced upon this principle, fearing that I might be trammelled with unworthy individuals; and God only knows if I had gone the lengths proposed and desired by some professed friends, how I would ever have extricated myself. Thank God, I remained free until experience has, in some degree, ripened my judgment, and till acquaintance has enabled me to judge of the merit of individuals with some degree of certainty. Should I be a candidate this winter for the senate, I think my prospect of success flattering, and with your friendship and assistance I shall feel pretty certain of success. But whether I be elected or not, let me be supported by whom I may, my mark is made against a few men, and they must feel it before I have done with them. My open enemy I can forgive, and forget the wrongs I have suffered at his hands, but the insidious pretended friend and secret foe can never be forgiven or forgotten until he shall have made retribution, just and adequate.

Your ob't s'rv't, J. McLEAN.

His Excellency N. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

SPRINGFIELD, Sept. 13., 1828.

DEAR SIR:—I have agreed with Mr. Samuel C. Meredith for the sale of this establishment, by the following article:

"H. Warren, as agent for the proprietor, agrees to sell the establishment of the *Sangamo Spectator* to S. C. Meredith upon the following conditions, *viz.*: The said Meredith to execute two several notes in consideration of the purchase of said establishment, bearing date Nov. 1st, 1828, the first for the sum of three hundred dollars, payable one year after date; the second, for the sum of seven hundred dollars, payable two years after date, both with interest.

"And the said Meredith agrees to comply with the above conditions, and to secure the payment of the said notes by a lien upon said printing establishment, in such form as may be agreed upon at the time of transfer and of the execution of said notes.

"It is understood by the parties that possession is to be given to the said Meredith on or before the first day of November next. Sept. 8th, 1828. H. WARREN,

Witness S. C. MEREDITH.

J. B. MEREDITH."

The above terms are probably the best that could have been obtained. I received but one letter on the subject in consequence of advertising, and that was from Wm. Johnson, a partner in the *Patriot* at Jackson, Mo. I answered him that $1000 was the least I thought of taking; and I heard no more of him, until I saw by the

Patriot that he had purchased out his partner, and taken the whole of that concern upon himself.

Had not this contract been made with Mr. Meredith, it is probable the paper would have died a natural death; and then the bare materials might have laid upon your hands for years, and at last brought no more than half the sum now stipulated.

Mr. M. represented to me that he had $500 due him next fall for property he sold in Ohio last year, and that he wanted all his available funds to purchase new type, &c. The lien will include the new purchases; and therefore if he should fail in making payment, no loss would be sustained by you.

I am apprized that you will shortly receive some affidavits respecting the Indians at the north, which if sufficently important, will bring you into this quarter before long, to carry into effect your threat against them. But if this shall not be the case, I wish you to forward me your instructions respecting the sale and transfer. Perhaps it will be best for you to write the forms in blank and send them. I am, sir,

Yours truly,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency, Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.

VANDALIA, 20th Sept., 1828.

DEAR SIR:—This day the court has awarded a mandamus in the case of Beaird against you returnable on

Wednesday next. Upon consulation with Messrs. Mills,* Brown, and Cowles we have thought it advisable to send the bearer to you that you may know what has been done, to enable you the better to take your course as to what further steps should be taken in the case. Messrs.

* In running through the papers of Gov. Edwards, we meet here for the first time the name of Benjamin Mills, who, if not the ablest, the most gifted, the most brilliant, and the most eloquent man in the State during his time, was certainly *primus inter pares*. Born in western Massachusetts, highly educated, and thoroughly grounded in the science of the law, Mr. Mills located as a lawyer at the Fever-River lead-mines as early as 1826 or 1827. Galena had then scarcely an existence; the village, where had gathered together large numbers of people who had been attracted thither by rich discoveries of lead-ore, was even then called "The Point." It was a very remote region, a sort of *terra incognita*, and little known to the world at large. The first settlers at the Fever-River lead-mines were nearly all from Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the southern part of Illinois.

There were but comparatively few New-England men in Illinois at this time, and a "Yankee" was an object of general aversion. But Mr. Mills took his chances, and entered upon the practice of his profession. It was a great card in politics then to fix upon a candidate the reproach of being a "Yankee". Judge Drummond says Mills once told him that the greatest triumph he had in his contest with May was in one of the Military-Tract counties. The meeting was a large one, and held in a barn, and there was an unusual number of Eastern men present. It afforded an admirable opportunity for Mills to reply to what was May's great stock in trade, the abuse of the Yankees, and there is no doubt he used it for all it was worth. The term "Yankee" was not always confined to New-England men. Daniel P. Cook was a Kentuckian, and had never seen New England, but he had many of the best characteristics usually attributed to New-England men. He was often stigmatized as a "Yankee" by his political opponents. It is related of him that in one of his political campaigns he stopped with a well-to-do farmer over night. He was unknown to his host, but in the course of the evening the conversation turned on politics. In reply to some remark of Mr. Cook, the farmer said that the great fear among his neighbors was that the "d—d little Yankee, Cook," would be elected to Congress. Mr. Cook well guarded his *incognito*, but the whole family was captivated by his frank and cordial manner and the charm of his conversation. When about to take his leave in the morning, the guest communicated to his host that *he* was the "little Yankee, Cook." The fear of his election no longer worried the farmer, but on the other hand, he gave his vote to Mr. Cook, and was ever afterward his friend.

Mills and Cowles appeared in court and denied its jurisdiction of the case, upon two grounds, 1st on account of the residence of the parties, 2nd that the writ would not lie to compel the performance of an executive function which the court had not control over. The court decided

Mr. Mills must have made rapid strides in public estimation as a lawyer to have been employed in an important lawsuit involving a question of public interest in 1828, by so sagacious a man as Gov. Edwards. In 1832 he had become so well known that he was elected a representative to the legislature from the counties of Peoria, Joe Daviess, Putnam, LaSalle, and Cook, then embracing all that part of the State north of Sangamon County and running from the Mississippi River to the Indiana boundary. His reputation as a lawyer had preceded him in the legislature, and when managers were appointed in the matter of impeachment of Judge Theophilus W. Smith, he was made the chairman. It was in that position that he was called upon to lead in the impeachment, and tradition has it that his speech for the prosecution was one of the ablest, the most eloquent, and most exhaustive speeches that had ever been heard in the halls of legislation in this State.

Judge Drummond of the United States Circuit Court, who practised law a few years at the same time as Mills at Galena, says Mills had often talked with him about that speech, which lasted two or three days. He spoke extemporaneously, having only a few straggling notes, and which he showed the Judge. When he came to that part of the speech where it became his duty to comment severely on the conduct of Smith, he had put down in his memorandum: "Off coat and roll up sleeves." In the course of his argument, after having excoriated Smith most unmercifully, the Legislature adjourned for dinner, and as the audience were passing down the steps of the state house at Vandalia, Smith approached him in the most friendly manner, cordially shook hands and exclaimed: "Mills, what a glorious speech you have made."

It is probable that the only man now living in Illinois who was the colleague of Mr. Mills in the house of representatives, in the legislature of 1832-3, is Hon. John T. Stuart of Springfield, a man whose long and honorable career as a member of the legislature, member of Congress, lawyer, citizen, and the life-long friend and cotemporary of Mr. Lincoln, has for more than a half a century illustrated and adorned the history of our State. In reply to an inquiry I made as to any reminiscences he might have of Mr. Mills, Major Stuart wrote me as follows:

"The only personal acquaintance I ever had with Mr. Mills was during the session of the legislature of Illinois, when we served together as members of

hat in contemplation of the law the Gov. resides in this ounty and that the cause of action accrued here, and hat the act to be done was a mere ministerial one and ot such an executive duty as the Gov. could call a dis-

he house of representatives in the session of 1832–3, when Mr. M. repre-nted the Galena district.

"He was about forty-five years of age, in person tall, lithe and graceful in ll his movements, always presenting the appearance of a cultivated and efined gentleman.

"Mr. Mills was highly educated, bright, cheerful, fanciful, and famed for a eady, sparkling wit, with no tinge of bitterness. He was the most delightful f companions.

"His voice was musical, and he had a fine command of language. He was lways chaste, elegant, classical, and imaginative, weaving into his speeches ie most beautiful festoons of fancy.

"He was, during that session, elected by the House of Representatives one f the five managers to conduct the attempted impeachment of Theophilus W. mith, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the State, and was made ie chairman.

"He made the concluding speech, and, as you may well suppose from what have said of him, that it was one of great power, force, beauty, and bril-ancy. I have during the last half-century heard many distinguished orators, nd I can truly say I never listened to a more splendid effort, or one more orthy of admiration, than the one delivered by Mr. Mills on that occasion."

In 1824, Mr. Mills ran for Congress against William L. May. The tate then had three representatives in Congress, and the northern district mbraced Springfield, Chicago, Peoria, Quincy, Jacksonville, and Galena. he friends of Mills always contended that he was beaten by the most unfair ieans. The candidates canvassed the district together for some time and ntil pretty much worn out with their labors, and then they agreed they would etire from the canvass and let the election take care of itself. Mills then eturned to his remote home in the lead-mines; but it was alleged that May, nstead of retiring from the contest, went to another part of the district and lectioneered more diligently than ever. The isolated situation of Galena at iat time, with a mail of not more than once a week on the main routes, nade it impossible for Mills to get word of what his competitor was doing. hat was a great advantage to May at a time when personal considerations nd personal electioneering had so much to do in influencing votes.

A statement of the vote at this election is given. An analysis of it is inter-sting. Cook County, which then embraced all the north-eastern part of the tate, only cast 520 votes. Forty-six years after, at the presidential election 1880, Cook County, reduced to its present limits, cast 100,286 votes! In

cretionary one, and therefore the court could compel its performance.

this election, Joe Daviess County cast within twenty-eight votes of the number cast in Cook County.

VOTE FOR CONGRESS IN THE THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ILL., AUG., 1834:

Counties.	Benj. Mills.	Wm. L. May.
McDONOUGH,	68	229
HANCOCK,	175	174
KNOX,	31	138
COOK,	195	325
ROCK ISLAND,	72	11
CALHOUN,	125	11
ADAMS,	259	450
WARREN,	122	119
PUTNAM,	215	165
SCHUYLER,	310	359
TAZEWELL,	290	142
LASALLE,	127	154
GREENE,	663	604
McLEAN,	198	298
PIKE,	343	215
SANGAMON,	772	1378
JOE DAVIESS,	367	125
MACON,	65	227
MORGAN,	1282	1335
FULTON,	276	315
	5955	6774

Mr. Mills was unrivalled as a conversationist, and had a ready and delicate wit rarely surpassed. Many of his flashes of wit and humor are repeated to this day. Of the kindliest disposition, frank, open-hearted, and generous, he linked all his friends to him as if by "hooks of steel". A victim of consumption, like Daniel P. Cook, he left his Illinois home to breathe his last in the land of his birth. After lingering some years, he died among the hills of his native Berkshire (Massachusetts) in 1841. Of all the early settlers of Illinois, the names of three men will always stand out pre-eminent, JOHN MCLEAN, BENJAMIN MILLS, and DANIEL P. COOK, all dying young, but leaving memories worthy to be cherished by every loyal son of our State.

In the fall of 1835, Mr. Mills formed a law partnership with Joseph P. Hoge, who had recently come to Galena from Ohio, and commenced the practice of law. The partnership continued until Mr. Mills was obliged to leave the State on account of his health. Though Mr. Mills had been

Mr. Mills has informed the bearer that he should have $4.50 if he delivered this to you by Monday morning at breakfast time.

Should you come yourself, *which it is hoped you will*, it might be well to bring all the books you may think necessary with you as there are very few here. It would perhaps be well to have Merrell's explanatory certificate reduced to writing.

GEORGE FORQUER.

Mr. Brown thinks that if you should come and the court should award a peremptory writ of mandamus, that your presence here would enable Beaird to file an affidavit and proceed against you for contempt. Of all this, however, you are much the best judge. In every other respect your presence is very desirable and would afford us much aid. We ourselves propose to take a writ of error instead of an appeal. With much respect, Yours, &c.,

B. MILLS.

N. B. We have drawn up a plea in abatement which we shall file as soon as the service is made. B. M.

We have beaten them off their first track *i.e.* their proceeding by rule to show cause why a peremptory mandamus should not issue, and driven them to the correct practice by issuing an alternative mandamus. We have great confidence in our exceptions to the jurisdiction.

defeated for Congress in 1834, Hoge, who had become his partner, was elected from the Galena district in 1842. If Galena lost the congressman in the person of Mr. Mills in 1834, it made it up afterwards by having four of its citizens elected, at different times, aggregating thirteen terms in all: Joseph P. Hoge, two terms; Edward D. Baker, one term; Thompson Campbell, one term; E. B. Washburne, nine terms.

Smith has said in awarding the writ that *prima facie* the evidence shown on the application was sufficient; that was only the *quietus* of the Auditor and Treasurer (Merrell).

We deemed it unnecessary to exhibit your justifying evidence on the argument to discharge the motion for a rule, &c. All this, as you are well aware, will be open to you on your answer to the suit.

A. COWLES.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

CHAPTER XXII.

Letter of Hugh Nelson, a representative in Congress from Virginia and a minister to Spain; a high tribute to Governor Edwards as an upright and honest statesman and politician; an opinion concerning a constitutional question; letter of Sidney Breese, in regard to an election to fill a vacancy in the legislature; letter of Governor Edwards to Richard J. Hamilton; some sharp inquiries touching a loan made by the bank of Edwardsville to Judge Young; letter of George Forquer and E. C. Berry, in respect to matters connected with the banks; letter of Duff Green; his speculations as to whom would compose Jackson's cabinet; agrees with Governor Edwards on the land question, but does not believe the Supreme Court will sustain him; that court dwindles as you approach it; another letter from Duff Green; Gen. Jackson's cabinet; Gov. Edwards' position on the public-land question; in the Supreme Court is lodged the tyrant, the monarch of this country; letter of A. P. Field; sketch of A. P. Field; member of the convention legislature in 1822; Hansen put out, and Shaw put in; secretary of state from 1828-40; appointed secretary of the territory of Wisconsin in 1841; in New Orleans at the breaking out of the Rebellion; claims a seat in Congress in 1863, but not admitted; always a loyal man; wanted to die in that country over which the American flag waved; attorney-general for the State of Louisiana; died in New Orleans in 1877; letter of Hooper Warren; looking for a place in which to engage in the newspaper business; Dr. Newhall an early and prominent settler at the Fever-River lead-mines; a surgeon in the United States army at Fort Winnebago; returns to Galena, where he lived until his death; actively engaged in the practice of medicine; letter of George Forquer; explains about recommendations for office; Charles Dunn; appointed United States district judge for Wisconsin; his intense hatred of Yankees; another

letter of Hooper Warren; determines to go to Galena to start a newspaper; another letter of George Forquer; explains cause of his delay in repairing to his post of duty.

LETTER OF HUGH NELSON.*

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Oct. 8th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have received your favor of the —, post-marked 6th Septb'r, which came to hand two days since. I was gratified to hear from you, tho' severed from each other, by what seems to us an almost immeasurable space and by an interrupted communication of many years. I wrote to you just before I sailed for Spain and hope you received my letter, because, having received from you a most kind and affectionate letter just before my departure, I should regret that an appearance should have been afforded to the presumption that I was regardless of your friendship. I have never participated in the persecution against you, which was started about that time, and I have always believed you an upright, honest statesman and politician, and have thought you perfectly right in that affair, on which the C. faction bottomed their efforts to hunt you down. I always said too that your talents would enable you to rise against the whole host, and was a good deal surprised when your friends brought you forward for the Senate, U. S., that you were not elected. But I did presume it was too early attempted.

* Hugh Nelson was a representative in Congress from the State of Virginia from 1811 to 1823, when he resigned, after having been appointed minister to Spain. He occupied this last position for nearly two years. He died at his country-seat in Albemarle County, Virginia, March 18th, 1836.

and that time had not been afforded to allay the excitement of the moment, and to afford an opportunity for a full vindication of your conduct.

And now, my dear sir, as to the business part of your letter. It seems a little singular in these days where there appears to exist almost universally, a propensity to arrogate and assume power not lawfully granted in every department of Cong. Gov't in the Union, that the Governor and Senate of Illinois should be so modest and diffident of exercising powers as to leave their State without an officer which the Legislature has deemed important to the security of the people. I do not presume to decide between such dignitaries modestly differing on the construction of the charter of Gov't defining these powers, but to a simple farmer, as I now profess to be, it would seem clear, that under the constitution the Governor *alone* could make no appointment without the Senate, but such as the Legislature should authorize him *alone* to make, the Legislature acting in virtue of their powers under the Charter. The Constitution defines and fixes the offices to which the Legislature may empower the Governor *alone* to make appointments. In this list no militia appointments are included and no appointments where the powers and authority of the appointed should exceed the limits of a County. I had once thought that perhaps as the rank and pay of the Adjutant General must be that of a Brigadier or Major General, that the officers mentioned in the Constitution as appointory, Majors and Brigadier Generals might be perhaps authorized to make the appointment. But as these officers named are limited to brigades and

divisions, and the Adjutant General attends to the whole State, this idea would not do. The conclusion is obvious if the Legislature create an office to which the Constitution will not allow them to give the power of appointment to the Governor. But the appointment must be made by the Senate and Governor. I write in a hurry, not very clearly or distinctly because in the bustle of a Court-yard, whilst the court is in session, I have not much space for reflection, aid, or argument.

Wishing you health and happiness,

I remain, d'r sir, y'r friend and serv't,

HUGH NELSON.

I return you the statement in the case with my opinion written in great haste. H. N.

Gov. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF SIDNEY BREESE.*

KASKASKIA, October 8th, 1828.

Gov. EDWARDS. *Dear Sir:*—Your favor of —— was handed me by Mr. Bennet this day. In answer I have only to observe that I wrote the letter to which yours is a reply, at the suggestion of some of our friends here. I do not know the proper course to be pursued having never examined the law with reference to this subject, I could not make the affidavit, as I do not personally know the fact. If Col. Mather was here he could, but he is absent.

* This letter is undoubtedly in relation to the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Lacy, who had been elected to the legislature from Randolph County.

The time you have named I think will be *very* favorable, though Col. M. is of opinion that it is not important.

Yours, respectfully, &c.,

SIDNEY BREESE.

Governor EDWARDS, Belleville.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO RICHARD J. HAMILTON.*

BELLEVILLE, Oct. 11h, 1828.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 26th ult. is just received, in which, after representing how, and on what security the loan to Judge Young was made, you state that by an order of the Board of Directors, on the same day, he was appointed attorney for the bank; that he was to retain the money of the bank to the amount of his loan whenever he collected that much as its attorney; but, that shortly afterwards he informed you that he wished to withdraw his paper, and not to consider the loan as an accommodation to him, from which the most natural inference would seem to be that he had no loan at all, which is directly contrary to the statement in your letter of the 15th October last, in which, after reciting the order for his loan, you say: "on this order the money was afterwards paid out of the bank, and shortly afterwards again repaid to the bank by Young."

As this apparent discrepency, though doubtless susceptable of explanation by you, leaves me altogether in the

* Governor Edwards was at this time apparently looking very sharply at the affairs of the Edwardsville bank.

dark as to the actual state of this case, and as it is as necessary and proper that I should understand *it* correctly, as that of any other Director, I have to request you to furnish me with a copy of all charges and credits on your books against and for Judge Young, with their respective dates; such information as you may possess as to any collections made by him for the bank; when respectively made; whether the quarter-section of land mortgaged by him was patented at the time; whether it was valued, and if so, by whom.

Respectfully, I am, sir,

Your mo. ob't serv't,

N. EDWARDS.

RICH'D J. HAMILTON, Cashier, &c.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER AND E. C. BERRY.

VANDALIA, Oct. 25th, 1828.

GOV. EDWARDS. *Sir:*—After you left here we met with some difficulty in interpreting the 20th Sec. of the free-school act of 1825, in connection with the resolution at the end of the volume, which changes the character of the Commissioners' duty and power, from that prescribed in the section referred to. By it we were required to purchase *State paper*, deposit it in the bank, and to procure a certificate against the State, for the amount deposited, "in the legal currency of the U. S.;" and the cashier is directed to burn the paper thus deposited, when the ten per cent is burnt; but by the resolution under

which they have acted, the Com'rs are authorized to purchase warrants, and the amount deposited in bank is therefore in warrants and not State paper. The Treasurer having no knowledge of the disposition *which we might* make of these warrants, we are at a loss to know how *legally to cancel them, so that there may not be two vouchers against the State in favor of the Com'rs, the one contemplated by the section referred to, and the warrants which we are not authorized to burn or cancel in way known to the law.*

Upon the whole we have tho't it prudent, lest the resolution under which we have acted might have escaped your notice, to submit the above for your consideration and to await your further advice before acting under the 20th Section above named.

As we have a *descriptive list in the form of a receipt of all warrants deposited in the bank*, we can not see why this delay should prevent us from drawing upon the Gov't for the amount now due the State, and take the liberty to suggest the propriety of doing so, and before the order for it can reach you, we can have received your further advice, and have acted upon the difficulty above suggested.

Very respectfully, your ob't serv'ts,

GEORGE FORQUER, }
E. C. BERRY, } Com'rs.

LETTERS OF DUFF GREEN.

WASHINGTON, 22nd Dec., 1828.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 30th ult. is rec'd. I can

give you no view relative to the Cabinet beyond mere conjecture. It is believed and stated as true by Van Buren's most intimate friends that he desires a seat in the Cabinet. If so, it would seem as a matter of course that he should be tendered the first department. There is some doubt however whether he will consent to go into that department. It is said that he prefers the treasury. Here he comes in conflict with McLane and Ingham. The latter is fast recovering, and expected to arrive in two or three weeks.

Mess. Tazewell, Benton, Bernard of Pa., Baldwin and sundry others have been spoken of. I do not myself believe that the General knows himself, therefore no one else can tell you, who will be his Cabinet.

Clay's course is an obvious one. He will endeavor to become the agent of the Bank of the U. States and rally all his strength on the internal improvement and Tariff questions. In these he must fail. I am by no means certain that we shall not have *four* candidates, if so, we have only to rally again on old Hickory and keep him in the field for four years more.

I regret to hear of the indisposition of Mrs. Cook. My wife and eldest daughter are in bad health and I am nearly worn down with fatigue and anxiety.

I have not read your message. I have for years been of your opinion relative to the rights of the States, and am prepared to defend your position. If the right of soil was in the original States then the new States if admitted

* This letter, written after the election of General Jackson, in 1828, contains speculations as to his cabinet.

into the Union upon "equal footing" with them must have the right of soil, any compact or stipulation in violation of her rights imposed upon a State as a condition precedent to a grant to her of rights secured by the treaty of cession which provides as well for the admission of the ceded Territory as the conveyance of it to the U. States, is void.

I am glad that you have made the question; I greatly doubt, however, your success before the Supreme Court. That Court, like other great things, dwindles as you approach it.

Remember me kindly to your amiable family.

Your aff. relative,

D. GREEN.

Hon. N. EDWARDS,

Vandalia, Illinois.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

WASHINGTON, 6th Jan'y, 1829.*

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 21st is rec'd. I am gratified to hear of your success but permit me to caution you. You now hold a position which may do your friends here great injury. Caution and prudence on your part is therefore necessary. My own opinion is McLean as well as Van Buren and Calhoun looks to the Presi-

* Mr. Green is still speculating as to whom were to be members of General Jackson's cabinet. He was correct in his surmise that VanBuren would be the secretary of state and Ingham secretary of the treasury. Barry was made postmaster-general, but neither Tazewell, John Pope, Judge McLean, Woodbury, nor Hill received cabinet positions. John H. Eaton was made secretary of war; John Branch was made secretary of the navy; and John M. Berrien was made attorney-general.

dency. The divided and distracted state of things in the West will produce much speculation upon individuals, and you know enough of public men to know that whatever you may do or say will be attributed to an influence out of your State.

It is particularly desirable that the conflicting interests of our party be made to harmonize and to prevent a premature collision, it is agreed on all hands that Gen'l Jackson shall hold a position for re-election if necessary or expedient perhaps he may desire it, and if so, no one can prevent his re-election.

You will therefore plainly see the impropriety of getting up at this time any new organization of parties based upon any speculation as to a competition between Van Buren and your personal friend. My own advice to you is to press your land question, get up and continue the discussion in the newspapers of your own and the other Western states. Make yourself the head of that measure, and you will be forced into the Senate; if once there your triumph over your old enemy is complete. Your views on the rights of the States are considered able and conclusive. No paper from your pen is calculated to do you more honor. It is an able, sound argument, and the doctrines which it lays down must prevail. But you must come into public favor as the advocate of a measure not of men. *Your* position in relation to the public lands brings you into company with the South and West and in direct conflict with the East. The consequences are easily foreseen, but the results will be the work of time, four years may not be enough. You as well as our anti-

tariff friends run butt against the Supreme Court, which can not resist the united force of the two questions. In that Court is lodged the Tyrant, the monarch of this country. I trust that you will be an able advocate of liberty in bringing it to the proper and legitimate exercise of power.

All is still speculation about the Cabinet. We have but little doubt that Van Buren will be Sec. of State. We believe that Ingham, whose health is much improved, will be Secretary of the Treasury. Tazewell, John Pope, Barry, Judge McLean, Woodbury, and Hill of N. Hampshire, are spoken of for the other offices.

Your friend and relative,

DUFF GREEN.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Vandalia, Illinois.

LETTER OF A. P. FIELD.*

JONESBORO, Jan'y 29th, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—Since my arrival I find that we have made a mistake in relation to the name of the person who has

* Among the active politicians of the State few men were better known, a half a century ago, than Alexander P. Field, always familiarly called "Aleck Field." His first appearance on the political stage was in 1822, when he was elected to the house of representatives from Union County. He was one of the most active members in pushing through the house the convention resolution, and was more instrumental than any man in procuring the ejection of Hansen from the house and putting Shaw in his place, thus securing the passage of the resolution. This act was a revolutionary one, and contributed greatly to the rejection of the resolution by the people.

He was again elected to the house in 1826, from Union, Johnson, and Alexander counties. He was secretary of state from 1828 to 1840, when he

been commissioned Recorder and Judge of Probate of Johnson County, his name is John McIntire and the commissions have been issued for David McIntire. If the mistake can be corrected I would be very glad. Serious injury will result, if it can not.

I have written to Gen'l Hargrave on the subject suggested by you before I left Vandalia. I have also spoken of Gen'l H. as one of the persons likely to be suported for that office, and I find, if he will offer, his chance of success will be very good. The people here are highly pleased

was legislated out of office, and finally removed by judicial proceedings. After the election of General Harrison, he was appointed secretary of the territory of Wisconsin, in 1841. Some years afterward he removed to St. Louis, and later on to New Orleans, and was in the latter city at the breaking out of the war. At the opening of the 38th Congress, December 7th, 1863, Col. Field (in conjunction with his colleague, Thomas Cottman) was put on the roll of the house as a member of Congress from Louisiana. They both voted on preliminary questions and for speaker, but after the organization was perfected the House refused to swear them in as members, and subsequently decided that they were not entitled to seats. Colonel Field made an able speech in support of his claim. In answer to suggestions touching his loyalty he made an eloquent and indignant protest: "I have always been a loyal man. I fought against secession to the utmost of my power. I endangered my life for months and months. I have never been anything else than a loyal man, and I hope that I never will be. I will stand by that flag wherever it floats, and when I die I hope it will be in that country over which it waves."

Colonel Field was a man of striking personal appearance, tall and well proportioned, of polished manners, and possessed rare conversational powers. As a lawyer, he was particularly successful in criminal cases. After the war he became attorney-general for the State of Louisiana, and died in 1877 at New Orleans after a long and painful illness. From a "convention man" he became a "Jackson man", and then a prominent and influential whig, and dying at last as a loyal man, and, as he expressed it, "where the flag of his country waved." Many old settlers of Illinois, his cotemporaries, forgetting and forgiving his course on the convention question, will always have a warm place in their memories for the gifted "Aleck Field".*

* "Sketch of Edward Coles," by E. B. Washburne.

with your message. You must review the militia in this part of the State. Your friend,

A. P. FIELD.

N. EDWARDS, Esq., Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF SIDNEY BREESE.

KASKASKIA, Feb. 5th, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I rec'd yours of the 4th inst., and regret to learn the delicate state of Mrs. Cook's health. On the other side you will find a receipt for making the tea, and syrup used by Mr. Smith. I hope it will prove efficacious in the case of your daughter. With regard to other matters contained in your letter, I will write more at length in a few days. I feel grateful for your attention and am assured you will leave nothing undone that should be done. I leave the whole matter with you and my friends with a perfect confidence that neither they nor you will desert me. With great respect, yo. friend and ob't,

SIDNEY BREESE.

Gov. N. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF ALEXANDER P. FIELD.*

JONESBORO, February 5th, 1829.

N. EDWARDS, Esq'r,

Sir:—Enclosed you will find a certificate of the late

* Governor Edwards was not a candidate for the senate at the time stated, but an earnest supporter of John McLean, who was elected by the unanimous vote of the Legislature.

Treasurer of Alexander County, in relation to the settlement of David Moore, Sheriff elect of said County. It was handed to me by Maj. Moore with a request that I would forward it to you for the purpose of procuring his commission. It was rendered impracticable for him to comply with the requisitions of the law sooner, in consequence of the absence of the Treasurer from the State.

The people of this part of the State appear to be much pleased with your message, with one exception. That part in relation to road labour they do not approve of. They think your arguments in favor of the right of the State to the vacant and unappropriated lands, able and satisfactory, and there is no man that I have yet seen but what feels great solicitude on this subject. The people are generally pleased with the course pursued by the Legislature. All my friends are highly delighted at my appointment. I again express a hope that you will visit this section of our State previous to the next election. Such a visit I have no doubt would render you very popular in this County. If you feeling a disposition again to embark in public life for the benefit and security of your friends, no pains shall be spared on my part to render such an effort successful. I have no doubt, should you desire it, your election to the Senate of the U. S. by the next Legislature can be rendered perfectly secure; if your friends act with energy and circumspection we have nothing to fear.

Be so good as to present my best respect to our mutual friend A. Cowles. Your friend and ob't serv't,

A. P. FIELD.

N. EDWARDS, Esq'r, Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.*

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 9, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—The appointments of canal commissioners have given general satisfaction in this part of the State, so far as my knowledge extends. They could not have suited me better, excepting a preference I had for Gen. Adams for one of them. But as he could not get the support of the delegation of this county, you ought not to be censured for not nominating him; I have heard none expressed.

My present purpose is, by request, to engage your support, if uncommitted, to William Porter, of this place, for the appointment of treasurer of the board and secretary also, if the commissioners should determine to unite the two offices. Mr. Porter will have the support of Dr. Jayne. He is a good clerk and accountant, has done the business of the receiver here ever since the establishment of the land-office, and for both the offices since the appointment of Dr. Todd. He is, moreover, a practical surveyor, a knowledge which might be of some service to

* Mr. Warren is still looking for a place in which to engage in the newspaper business. The Dr. Newhall, of whom he speaks, was an early and a prominent settler at the Fevre-River lead-mines. He was a native of Massachusetts, graduated at Harvard College, studied medicine, and commenced his professional career in Bond County in this State about 1825; removing to the lead-mines a year or two afterward, he was appointed a surgeon in the United States army, and stationed at Fort Winnebago, a military post of considerable importance then included in Michigan Territory, but now in Wisconsin. Jefferson Davis was then serving at that post as a second lieutenant. After leaving the army, Dr. Newhall returned to Galena, and there he lived until the time of his death, a few years since, always actively engaged in the practice of medicine, and standing at the head of his profession. A man of education and intelligence, as well as of probity and honor, he always exercised a great influence in the community in which he lived.

the commissioners. He has the reputation of strict integrity and good moral habits. He would have no difficulty in procuring the requisite security, without even going out of this county. His intention is, in the event of his getting the appointment, to establish himself in the mercantile business somewhere on the line of the canal. He has now on the way from Philadelphia an assortment of goods, the invoice of which amounts to $2500, which were ordered with a view of opening them here. I believe there is no young man in the State more worthy of public employment. As I myself intend to settle eventually on the line of the canal, his appointment would be personally gratifying to me.

Judge Lockwood, on his return from Vandalia, informed me it was the desire of my friends (you among the number) that I should go to Galena, and associate myself with Mr. Jones. The proposal was quite repugnant to my feelings at first, but after a short conversation I concluded that in my present situation it might be the best I can do. A proposition was therefore sent out last week by Judge L. to Dr. Newhall, for Mr. Jones' consent to take me as a partner for two years, with an equal share of the profits, upon my allowing a per centum upon the capital invested. The promise of an enlargement of the subscription in this part of the State is offered Mr. Jones as an inducement to the arrangement. Should it succeed, I could maintain my family during the two years, and in the meantime find something else for future employment. Before Judge Lockwood spoke to me on the subject, Mr. James W. Willis had offered to rent me a small improvement in the

settlement at the Illinois Rapids, which I think I shall accept, if an unfavorable answer be received from Galena.

I am almost discouraged with respect to Mr. Meredith. He has got his type from Ohio, but his messenger came back without *paper*, and he is now waiting for that to come from St. Louis. There appears no obvious reason to have prevented his getting out his first number in November last. I have procured the printing of the U. S. laws for him, the attempt to transfer it to Galena notwithstanding, which I did more on your account than any other. I am, however, still convinced that selling the press to him was better than packing up the materials—for should he fail on the first of Nov. next in making the payment, or in giving better security, you will have it in your power to retake them.

Very respectfully, your ob't s'rv't,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.

KASKASKIA, 28 Feb., 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your kind letter. The information it contained enabled me to free myself from a blunder I had committed in writing to Dunn in favor of Campbell, without mentioning the name of Harlan.* Until

* I do not know who the Harlan is that Mr. Forquer refers to in this letter. The Mr. Campbell is undoubtedly Alexander Campbell, who had represented Edwards and Wayne Counties in the legislature. The Dunn referred to was Charles Dunn of Pope County, who was for several years a clerk in the house

I received your letter, I knew not that Harlan had ever been spoken of for one of those appointments. I immediately informed Dunn that I was in favor of them both for the *two* places, and explained to him at large the political reason (in addition to the man's merits) why "*our friends*" regarded these appointments of importance. I also got Breese to write to him and to urge their appointment with similar reasons. Suspecting an undercurrent, I did not in my letter fail to explain to him, in strong allusions, which would be understood by him, where I suppose the current emanated from and what was the object of putting it in motion. I concluded by saying that "I thought a certain class of men ought to be satisfied, so long as such men as Dunn and myself would quietly *tote them*, without manifesting a wish to increase our burdens by packing us with *their own* creatures also." In this I risque nothing, for I know, from conversation with him, Dunn fully responds to such feelings in relation to the same class of men. From some slight indications, I fear that it has been intended to defeat Campbell, but to let Harlan succeed for one of the places. I have, however, acted in relation to it, in character with myself, except that I think I have been less rash than I fear you will suspect. I have firmly decided for both Harlan and

of representatives in the State legislature, and afterward, in 1834–6, represented Pope County. Subsequently Mr. VanBuren appointed him United States district judge for the territory of Wisconsin, a position which he held until the Territory was admitted as a state into the Union. A native of Kentucky, and living a long time in "Egypt", he was distinguished by his intense hatred of Yankees—a term which with him included not only New Englanders, but people from all the Eastern States.

Campbell, and given the reasons at large against any others and in their favor to Mr. R., in presence of Mr. M., who you know verifies, rather too strongly for a politician, the remark of Cooper in his batchelor relative to the New Englanders, that "they speak with a closer mouth, both physically and *morally*, than any other people," and which will forever prevent him from being an able actor upon a concerted plan of extended action. To obtain from him his views or his intentions, his real friends have either to seem *to pump* him or to learn them by enigmatical signs, which requires as much sagacity on their part as on the part of his enemies to arrive at the information sought.

Mrs. F. is yet unable to be out of bed 3 hours at a time, and is very lame and has to walk with a cane. We thought to set out tomorrow, but I find she has not yet sufficient strength; but shall leave here in a few days, if she is only able to travel ½ the day. We will call at Belleville on our way up, when I hope to see you on many accounts.

Your friend, GEO. FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

SPRINGFIELD, March 7, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Porter having gone into business here in company with Capt. Henry, and intending to go to the eastward in a few weeks, has withdrawn from being a candidate for canal treasurer.

The answer to the proposition sent to Galena is unfavorable. It was not however made in the way I intended

it should have been done, but merely with the simple question whether Mr. J. would or would not sell the whole or any part of his office. The correspondence was between Dr. Todd and Dr. Newhall. The latter expresses great dissatisfaction with Mr. Jones, and intimates that he has had heretofore a disposition to set up a paper in opposition to him. I have therefore determined to go myself to Galena as soon as possible, and if Mr. Jones should decline such an arrangement as I mentioned to you in my last, I shall offer my services to Dr. Newhall or any one else disposed to undertake it, to establish a new paper. I shall go by the next stage, if it run next week, which in the present state of the roads and waters, is extremely doubtful. If not, I will go by the first boat.

Mr. Meredith, as you will have seen, has issued two numbers of his paper. He will have out the third on Monday, and then he will be out of paper—has made no arrangement for more immediately. He has no assistance except what I have given him. I am sorry to say I have discovered that he has neither talent nor tact for *any part* of the business. I advised him to insert your advertisements, as it would lessen his weekly labor, and you would probably allow him something for it. If it be determined to get up a newspaper at Galena, I will, if you think it best, propose to him to cancel the bargain, and remove the materials to that place. I have been anxious that you should realize from them the amount Mr. Cook paid me for them, and I shall never consider myself out of your debt until that is done.

I shall write to Judge Young by Judge Lockwood, hop-

ing he may be at Belleville at the meeting of the commissioners.

Mr. Enos has suggested to me this morning that you have probably as much influence over Gen. Jackson as any other man in this state, and learning that I am now writing to you, has requested me to ask you to explain to him the situation of affairs relative to appointments. I told him I thought you had probably already done so. Although the old gentleman professes much independence, I discover he is really apprehensive of being removed. He supposes Mr. Taylor is a candidate against him. Any service you could render him would be gratefully appreciated.

Your obedient servant,

H. WARREN.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.

KASKASKIA, 11 March, 1829.

DEAR SIR :—It may seem strange to those unacquainted with the cause of my detention, that I have not repaired to my post before this time. The affliction of Mrs. F. has been so severe that to have left her would have been an act of cruelty and neglect of duty to her. It is now ten weeks since she was confined, and she is now not able to turn herself in bed. She has been a great sufferer from a sciatic affection, the pain however has now measurably ceased, but left her right limb from the hip down entirely useless, so that she can not move herself only as she is lifted or carried. Another debility of a female nature has

also afflicted her from her confinement, but of this she is now getting better. Mr. Roberts knows how she has been affected. I expect however that she will be so far recovered as to allow me to meet the court at Pike, but I have abandoned all hope of being able to remove her before warm weather. If she ever has the complete use of her limb it will be some time first, not before fall I think.

Mr. R. says he is entirely uncommitted as to any appointments, and I think the expression of your preference will secure everything, but he is too cautious to say at once what he will do. In the course of next week I hope most certainly to have the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

Politeness of Mr. Roberts.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Letter of Sidney Breese; wants to be appointed judge in case of a vacancy by the death of Judge Smith; letter of George Forquer about appointment of canal commissioner; letter of Governor Edwards to Samuel D. Ingham, secretary of the treasury; clear statement in relation to the school fund; letter of Hooper Warren, in regard to postmaster at Hillsborough; letter of Governor Edwards to secretary of war; urges appointment of engineer to survey the route of the Illinois and Michigan Canal; letter of Duff Green; General Jackson well understands the state of parties in Illinois; is resolved to sustain the friends of Governor Edwards in the State; Duncan's power at an end with the administration; letter of Hooper Warren; arrives at Galena by mail-stage; dull times at Galena, and unfavorable for commencing business; Judge Lockwood's limited exertions in behalf of the paper; letter of J. F. Posey, written for A. P. Field, secretary of state; the indictment against Winn not to be found; letter of George Forquer; complains of the inertness of the canal commissioners; a work of too much magnitude to be slept over throughout the years 1829-30; if a vacancy should occur, thinks he could render good service as canal commissioner.

LETTER OF SIDNEY BREESE.

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

WATERLOO, March 11th, 1829.

Governor EDWARDS,

Dear Sir:—I have received information here that there is little prospect of Judge Smith's recovery, and that you will probably be soon called on to appoint his successor.

The office is one that should not be solicited, but I am constrained from many causes to ask you in looking round for his successor to consider my claims. I should be extremely gratified to receive so high a token of your regard and should be ambitious to make myself worthy of it. I should prefer risking myself with the next legislature to incurring any *elsewhere*. The appointment, I flatter myself in believing, would be acceptable to your friends. If it should so happen that Judge S., like Mr. Crawford, as Randolph said, should obstinately refuse to die, my application will, of course, be forgotten. I should be pleased to hear from you, should the expected event happen. Y'r friend sincerely,

SIDNEY BREESE.

Governor N. EDWARDS,
Belleville.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.

KASKASKIA, 19 Mar., 1829.

DEAR SIR:—Your note by Mr. Roberts has been the means of relieving, I hope, your disappointment as to Mr. Harlan's appointment. I immediately showed it to Mr. Mather, and then for the first time learned how far he was committed to Archer. We then made a full push upon the commissioners, and succeeded in having their determination in favor of the Pope-County man reconsidered, and that place is now *vacant*, and things are so arranged as that Harlan will get it at the next meeting of the board. The particulars I will give you when I see you. Mrs.

F. is no better, and, indeed, seems to be worse this bad weather. She is as helpless as an infant.

In haste, your ob't serv't,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO HON. SAMUEL D. INGHAM.

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, April 2, 1829.

SIR:—I had the honor on yesterday to receive your letter of the 12th ult., postmarked the 14th, in answer to mine of the 9th February to the Commissioner of the General Land-Office, advising him of the school-fund commissioners having drawn bills on account of the three per cent fund, due this State, and requesting payment to be made at the Treasury, which had been referred to you.

I learn with great regret from your answer that payments have been and will be withheld, and the State subjected to the serious loss of ten per cent upon the whole amount due, because an annual account of the application of the money theretofore received had not been transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury according to the provisions of the act of Congress of the 12th Dec'r, 1820, entitled "an act to provide for the paying to the State of Illinois three per cent of the nett proceeds arising from the sales of the public lands within the same."

As this requisition must have been complied with during the administration of my predecessor, or had been dispensed with by yours, and as nothing in the letter of

the Commissioner of the Gen'l Land-Office of the 2 April, 1825, to which mine particularly referred, indicated any such difficulty, and not a cent of money had been received since my administration commenced, it seems to me that a sound discretion might have admitted of the payment, and saved the State from so considerable a loss; under a just expectation that a satisfactory explanation would be promptly transmitted to you, or with the certainty that you possessed the means of conning one. A literal compliance with the law is now impossible and not to be expected. It could never have intended that the same sums should be more than once accounted for. I had a right to suppose that all had been done in the time of my predecessor which was required. That your predecessor had been satisfied, appears from the payments which from time to time he had made. Not a cent having been received during my administration, and there has been nothing to account for within that time. Nothing has been offered to be paid according to the law referred to, but on the terms mentioned in the letter of the Commissioner of the Gen'l Land-Office, of the 2d April, 1825, which have been complied with on the part of the Commissioners of this fund. It was, therefore, to be presumed that the sums heretofore received had been satisfactorily accounted for to your predecessor, who was competent to decide upon that matter; and it did not occur to me that the course which he had thought proper to pursue in regard to the payments made by him years ago ought now to be revised for the purpose of withholding those which have been accumulating for years, are now due,

and never can be accounted for till they shall have been received.

The several sums heretofore received, however, on this account being as yet inadequate to the object for which they were granted, have not been appropriated otherwise than in the purchase of the notes of State Bank of Illinois and warrants upon its Treasurer at a great discount, which has considerably augmented this fund; all of which is deposited in the Treasury of the State, to be appropriated in due time exclusively to the object for which it was granted. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir,

Y'r mo. ob. s't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Hon. SAM'L D. INGHAM,

Sec. of Treasury.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

HILLSBOROUGH, April 14, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—On my arrival here this evening, I found considerable excitement in the town on account of a petition to the postmaster-general praying for the removal of Mr. Tillson from the office of postmaster, and the appointment of James Wilson in his place. The only complaint is that the post-office is not kept in the town. The petition was drawn up by John Reynolds. A remonstrance against the removal is also in circulation, which is said to have obtained more than double the number of signers than the petition.

Mr. Tillson is not returned from the Eastward, being

detained by the sickness of his wife. His clerks have moved the office into the town, though it can hardly be said that Mr. T.'s house is out of the town. I am fully persuaded that the convenience of the people who have business with the post-office will not be better served with a removal of either of the office or postmaster, than by their remaining as they are.

I communicate these facts for your information, leaving you to act your pleasure as to any interference. His appointment in the first instance having been facilitated, if not procured, by my introduction of him to you, I can not again ask your interposition in his behalf after what has happened. I, however, wish to see him retained.

Yours, H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, 1 May, 1829.

SIR:—Taking it for granted that our senators and representatives in Congress had specially called your attention to a request of the Legislature of this State, for the assistance of an Engineer of the U. S. to survey the route of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and that they had supported the application with a zeal proportioned to the importance of the object, our Canal Commissioners have been confidently expecting and anxiously waiting for the result of your determination. As

the season for progressing with this highly-desirable internal improvement has some time since commenced, and it is now only delayed for your answer to the application that has been made to you, I beg leave to request the favor of hearing from you on the subject as soon as may suit your convenience.

I have the honor to be, sir,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Hon. Sec. of War.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.

WASHINGTON, May 26th, 1829.

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

DEAR SIR:—Your several letters have been received, and the contents communicated to the President. He *now* understands the state of parties well in Illinois, and is resolved to sustain your friends. He says, with truth too, that if your friends have not heretofore been noticed by him it is because you have not written to *him* and notified *him* of your wishes. You may safely write to him in the fullest confidence and you will find that Mr. Duncan's power here is at an end.

I have been anxious to serve Benjamin, and if he can make a friend of McLean, so as to get *his* recommendation for receiver at Edwardsville, that appointment can be had for him after the 4th of January next. I am induced to believe that Hamtrainer will be removed, and it was a question with me whether Benjamin would accept that office. He would be required to live with the Indians, which would make it less valuable to him than the other.

My family are in tolerable health. My daughters are growing up to be women. I am much harassed, but hold my own well.

Remember me kindly to your amiable wife and daughter, and if I can serve you, command me.

Your friend and relative,

D. GREEN.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, May 26, 1829.

SIR:—I arrived at this place with my family on the 17th instant, in the mail stage. The printing materials I put up at St. Louis, had arrived safe. Those I sent to Beaird's Ferry, on the Illinois, have not yet been received, and I apprehend yet some further delay of eight or ten days before their arrival. It would have been better to have removed them to St. Louis by land after I ascertained that no steam boat would go up the Illinois.

I find business here almost in the lowest state of depression. Lead commands only from $1.75 to $2.00 per 100, and the consequence is that very little will be made this season. The merchants are endeavoring to collect their debts and close their business; crediting is stopped entirely. But it is the opinion of the best informed that this state of things will continue only through the present season. It is supposed to have been produced by the large importations of lead between the passage and the operation of the

tariff, together with the alarm excited in the eastern merchants by the reports of the large amount of lead manufactured here during the two last years. Provisions too, are much higher than they were last season, owing partly to the increased prices below, and partly to the low stage of the waters. These circumstances render the time of our commencing business most unfavorable. They will curtail our mercantile patronage at least one-half from the amount I had anticipated. With respect to subscriptions we shall do very well. We have the offer of a house which will answer for an office and my family, for $200 per annum, and although there are a great number of buildings to rent, it is the only one of like accommodations that we can get short of $300. Rents must come down, but the emigration this spring keeps them up for the present.

Dr. Todd arrived at Springfield a day or two before I left that place, but I had no opportunity to converse with him respecting our establishment. Indeed, I considered it would be hardly right to insist on his exertions and influence in our behalf, if he is to be removed from office, and we are to take part against his friend and favorite. He however expressed himself well pleased with the prospectus. Judge Lockwood's exertions were limited to the first twenty minutes after I first saw him at Jacksonville, during which time he subscribed himself, and procured others for eight papers. On my return to Springfield from below, he had done nothing more, and had lost the subscription papers I left with him for distribution, although he knew I had to raise from $200 to $250, or not succeed in making an establishment here; and had been induced by him to

relinquish my purpose of going to the Rapids, which I could have done without the aid of my friends. On my return to Springfield he "asked me no questions," made no inquiries whether or how I had succeeded. This, however, is between ourselves. I have no disposition to complain, or to hold any man to the performance of a *gratuitous* promise.

It was my intention when I sat down to write you fully my views on our present political affairs, but as the room is full of men in conversation, and the boat is nearly ready to start, I must defer it to another time. I believe, however, you are pretty well aware of them.

I would be glad to receive communications from you often, relative to state and national affairs. It might be well for you to write for the paper, in that case, let your communications be addressed to me, individually, at least such of them as you may wish to be held as confidential.

I am respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. WARREN.

His Ex. Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF J. F. POSEY.

VANDALIA, June 19, 1829.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS.

SIR:—Your letter of the 17th ult. has just come to hand. It is truly mortifying to me that I have never, since the receipt of your last letter, had it in my power to make out the papers in the case of *Winn*. The reason which I offer to your Excellency is that there is no indictment to be

found in the office of the Secretary of State. I, however, according to your instructions, wrote on to the clerks of the counties of Johnson and Union, respecting the indictment, requiring them if on file in either of their offices to forward it on immediately. To those letters I have received no answers. As soon as the indictment can be found the papers shall be made out without delay. Judge Hall requests me to ask you when you will be in Vandalia —if you are not here soon he wishes to write to you on some important business.

In the meantime I beg leave to remain your Excellency's

Very obe't and humble ser't,

J. F. POSEY,

For A. P. FIELD, Sec'y of State.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

WATERLOO, June 20, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I came here on urgent business, and but for the affliction of Mrs. F., who can not spare me long from Kaskaskia, I would come up to see you, which I have been anxious to do for some time. Mrs. F. remains *entirely* as *helpless* as when she was ten days old, and when she will be otherwise God alone knows, but this I know, that dire as the calamity, if she is to remain so for years as has been the fate of others, I must prepare to meet it and act in that way which will most deprive misfortune of its sting.

I have had many conversations with Mr. R. on the subject of the canal. There seems so far to be an inertness of action on the part of the commissioners which I fear our friends will be made to feel. What has been the result of your interviews recently with Mr. R. I am unable to conjecture, but when he left Kaskaskia it was rather the wish of his friends that he would resign. I have been reading the law, and pondering the matter much in my mind, and conclude that it only needs a little productive energy on the part of the com'rs to fully meet the public expectation, do themselves and friends honor, and render high service to the State.

But from the present board we may in vain expect any such result. Without meaning, or feeling the slightest unkindness to any of them, one may with truth say the board is without the talents and courage necessary to the high and important trust reposed in them. It is of too much magnitude, and too closely connected with the character and prosperity of the state, for *us* to sleep over it throughout the years 1829 and '30.

Should Mr. R. resign, and should you think my services in his place, (all things considered) proper I should like much to enter upon the duty. I think I could render the state important service in that character, without interfering with my present office, as there would be no incompatibility in the places. I should feel grateful to you on another account, that whilst I *was serving the people* I would be acquiring the means to enable me the better to sustain myself under my present, and what I now expect to be a continued misfortune, in the crippled condition of

Mrs. F. if she should finally recover. Should any of these suggestions in any way meet your views I should like to hear from you without reserve, and you may be assured that I am as I hope always to be,

Yours most sincerely,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Letters of Hooper Warren from Galena; delay in the appearance of the Galena "Advertiser"; Dr. Philleo hunting for a keg of ink; a Jackson paper and Jacksonism; toast of Col. A. Field at a 4th-of-July celebration at Galena, 1829; if to be a Jackson paper, the Galena "Advertiser" should be under the political control of Dr. Philleo; Kinney fishing for the support of the paper; agents of the lead-mines arriving at Galena; principal business men at Galena supporters of the Adams administration; disgusted at the course of the Jackson administration; letter of Governor Edwards to the postmaster-general; sharp criticism of the project to change the mail route so as to cut off Edwardsville; letter of P. Bradley, assistant postmaster-general, in explanation; letter of John Reynolds; wants to communicate with Governor Edwards in the spirit of peace and good-will, "let the past be forgotten"; Reynolds wants to be candidate for governor; friends of peace and good order urging his claim, not so much for him as for the public; "meet that we act together"; "we must head our opponents in our own way"; Reynolds elected governor in 1830 over his main opponent, Lieut.-Gov. William Kinney; both Jackson men, but Kinney the more pronounced and vehement; Reynolds a great master of the art of electioneering; careful not to offend the anti-Jackson element; Kinney an ultra-Jackson man; the anti-Jackson men in the State vote for Reynolds, and secure his election; Zadoc Casey, on the ticket with Kinney for governor, was elected lieutenant-governor over Slocumb, who was on the ticket for lieutenant-governor with Reynolds.

LETTERS OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, June 1, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—Among other things which I forgot to

mention to you while at Belleville was that of meeting Judge Young at St. Louis. He confirmed the assurance previously made through you to me respecting a clerkship, excepting perhaps the office in Hancock county, which he had promised to Mr. Jenkins. He stated that he expected both Hancock and Warren counties would be organized during the present summer, and if I chose to take the latter I could do so. To do this would interfere with present arrangements, otherwise it might be well for me to accept it. That will probably be the best county in the Bounty tract, especially if the county-seat should be fixed on the Mississippi, for while there is a good site just above the mouth of Henderson, Chicago I think would be still better, and under present circumstances it may be best for me to wait for that.

An occurrence has taken place here since my arrival which may lead to a vacancy that might prove still more to my advantage than to take an appointment in either of those places. Col. Field has let his office for one year to Mr. Ford, and has gone down the river with his family. There are various rumors respecting his departure—some think he will return in a few weeks, others that he will never come back again. I have heard it suggested that he has gone to Arkansas to receive some appointment under Gov. Pope.

It is probable that this place was not in the view of Judge Young when he made his offer concerning me. But I would suggest to you that if my friends are desirous to avail themselves of my services in my profession, the appointment to the clerkship here might insure them, with-

out special pecuniary aid, which the vicissitudes of the business so often require. I am well pleased with this place, and would prefer it for a permanent residence to any other in the state, if I could obtain an adequate support.

I wrote you a letter by Dr. Hancock, who went down in the packet last week. You will doubtless receive that before this reaches you. It informed you of my progress thus far. The materials from Springfield are not yet arrived, but expected daily. The river is very low, and continues to fall. No steamboat has arrived for more than a week, and it is expected that the rapids are too low to admit any one to pass.

Mr. Kercheval is here and at Prairie Du Chien alternately. He will return to Detroit soon. If you wish to engage him to take up your negro, a letter would probably meet him at this place before his departure.

I am respectfully, your obe't serv't,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

GALENA, July 6th, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—You are doubtless waiting with some degree of impatience for the appearance of the *Galena Advertiser*. After waiting more than three weeks after my arrival, the materials from Springfield arrived from *St. Louis*. How they got there I have never learned. All March's boats had arrived previously. So much for his assurance to me that they should come in his boats. Mr. Codington, his partner, who came up, knew nothing about them. They were brought up to the Lower Rapids

in a keel towed by the steam-boat *Triton*, and thence shifted to the *Josephine*. They were put on the top of the *Triton's* keel, and from exposure to wet, very much damaged. When we were elated with the certainty of getting out the paper immediately, we were astonished to find that the *keg of ink* had been left behind!! I put it into the wagon myself at Springfield with the other materials sent to Beardstown on the Illinois. Dr. Philleo started down the river immediately, which was three weeks ago last Saturday, to look for it. We heard from him by letter at the Lower Rapids on the 20th ult. at which time he had not found it, and was about to start down to St. Louis. We expect him by the next boat or stage.

We have received no answer from Messrs. Tillson & Holmes on my proposition to them respecting paper. Dr. P. will have seen them on his way down, or make some other arrangement at St. Louis.

You must perceive that my mind is greatly perplexed at the course of the Administration since I saw you. When it was first suggested to me to come to this place, and consequently before I had any consultation with you, it was my wish and determination to print a "Jackson paper," if a support of the Administration upon the principles which had been avowed by the Executive before his election, might be called such. This was not because I had any love for "Jacksonism," but to render the paper as influential with the people as possible with respect to State politics. I concurred with your views entirely as expressed to me at Belleville. But I have seen that your expectations have not been realized with

regard to the *reforming* system. Moreover you must have seen the ominous signs of the times respecting the tariff and internal improvements. Leaving the declarations from Georgia out of the question; what do you think of the course of the Louisville *Advertiser* and St. Louis *Beacon?* Penn with all his zeal for the tariff during the pendency of the election, it seems can now scoff at it editorially, and copy from the Richmond *Enquirer* without comment. Col. A. Field, at the celebration in this place last Saturday, gave a toast to this effect: "STATE RIGHTS—*they will be protected under the present Administration, schemes of internal improvement and tariffs to the contrary notwithstanding.*"

As you have the right, I wish the paper to take such a course as will suit your views. If you wish it to go the whole hog in supporting the Administration, whatever course it may take, I shall make no objections, but I would disown, individually, to those who asked me, a participation in the promulgation of a sentiment or principle, which I could not approve. If such be in fact your wish, they might be carried into effect by giving the political management of the paper into the hands of Dr. Philleo. You will of course see the necessity of communicating your views as frequently as occasion may require. I need not assure you that they may be confidentially sent to me.

Before his departure, Dr. Philleo received two letters from Mr. Kinney, the first of which tendered to him the "public printing" of the State, as the Doctor understood it, but I think it must have been the laws of the U. S. that

the Rev. gentlemen alluded to. The second was an inquiry what course our paper would take in the Governor's election? He had no doubt of Dr. P., but did not know how Dr. N. would go.

Three or four new agents are here at present, among them Col. Wight of Gallatin Co. Capt. Legate is stationed here, the others to go into the country.

I have not received a letter from any person since my arrival. Returns of subscribers ought to have come in. We have on the paper here about 230 subscribers, including about 20 that I brought with me. This is pretty good encouragement before the issue of the first number. I ought perhaps to mention to you that the principal men in business in this place, from whom we expect support, are mostly friends of the late Administration, and very much disgusted at the course pursued by the present.

I remain, your ob't serv't,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO POST-MASTER GENERAL.

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, 16 July, 1829.

SIR:—It seems pretty evident from your recent advertisement for proposals for carrying the mail, that it is your intention to deprive us of the advantages of the Eastern line through this place, which we have enjoyed, by the decision of your predecessor, during the whole term of the present contract.

As this measure is not required to effect the arrangements which your advertisement purposes; as no complaint has been made that the mail by this route has not arrived in time at St. Louis; as it cannot be said, with truth, that it cannot arrive at that place, by this route, with the greatest ease in the time contemplated by your advertisement; and as the change which seems to be extended, cannot be effected in the manner proposed without unnecessarily increasing the expenses of your department, we cannot see the justice or propriety of applying to this class a different rule or principle from that which governs in relation to other places that have no higher claims. We cannot, as was justly remarked to your predecessor, see why so circuitous a route from Frankfort to Millersburg, or even from Frankfort to Lexington, should be tolerated, and yet so small an accommodation withheld from the county-town of the oldest, most wealthy of the most populous counties in the state; and which county-town, I think the map will show, lies nearer to a straight line between Louisville and St. Louis than any other through which the mail passes.

I have alluded to the route between Frankfort and Lexington, not that it is the only one of the kind, for they are numerous, but because it is well known to you, and because I personally know that as much distance is superadded between these two points, as the difference between the usual road from Lebanon to St. Louis, and the one by this place.

If the people of St. Louis, undervaluing the equal rights of the people of this state, have undertaken to complain of the latter, it should be recollected that the people any-

where to the westward of Frankfort have an equal right to complain of the former. All we want is to be treated like citizens similarly situated in other places.

Confidently believing that you have been induced to make this change by false information, it is the object of this letter to enable you to detect those falsehoods and to ascertain the truth by documents within your reach that cannot deceive.

The point where the roads fork on this side of Lebanon, the one coming to this place, the other going to St. Louis, is at a Mr. Westfield's, in the southerly part of N. E. qr. of Section 33, Town. 2, N. R. 7, W. of the 3 principal meridian. Belleville includes parts of Sections 21 and 22, Town. 1, N. R. 8, W., and is upon two militia rights of 100 acres, each marked upon the maps of the general land office. Measuring the following straight lines, from the forks of the road to Belleville and thence to the ferry opposite the centre of St. Louis. For the route on which the mail now runs, and from the forks of the road direct to the latter point, for the route which your advertisement contemplates, and you will find the difference not to exceed about 3½ miles. And this, I think is much the most favorable view that can be taken in reference to the propriety of the intended change, for though neither road is exactly straight, the latter, I am confident, is the least so, and of this you will see the strongest probability when informed, as is the fact, that the road from the before mentioned forks in the southerly part of the N. E. quarter of Section 33, Town. 2, R. 7, W. runs by a Mr. Geo. Swigert's on the S. E. 13, T. 2, N. 8 W. and thence along the north-

erly part of Section 16, in the same township and range.

The difference in the distance may be about three miles, but not more. To save this distance then upon one route, your plan is to run a stage twice a week between this place and Lebanon, and also to extend the route from Shawneetown to St. Louis instead of stopping at this place, neither of which would otherwise be necessary, while either of them would be more costly under any circumstances that I can imagine, than continuing the mail as it now runs. Indeed, I do not believe there would be one cent's difference in the bids, whether the mail runs as it now does, or as it is proposed to do.

This change has produced great excitement in this quarter, and if you have no objection, we should be happy to know what representations have been made to you on the subject, and by who. It is believed that Mr. Kinney, our Lieut. Governor, who is making an establishment on the direct route and who is greatly interested in the change, has assisted to produce it; and if so it would seem to be right that it should be known, since he is understood to disavow it, and it is a fact within my own knowledge, that one of his nearest neighbors and most confidential friends, who professes to understand his views on this, declares that so far from advocating, he thinks it wrong that the mail should be taken from this place as proposed by your advertisement. N. EDWARDS.

Post-Master General.

LETTER OF P. BRADLEY.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF MAIL CONTRACTS,
1 August, 1829.

SIR:—It is due to Mr. King to remark that he has not made any communication in regard to the change made in the mail's transit on the route indicated in your letter of the 16th ult'o, but an objection has been made by many individuals in and out of your state to the Department sending the important Western mail out of its way or regular direction, to the inconvenience of the traveller and delay of the mail, and in consequence of these objections the route has been advertised as it was heretofore, to the exclusion of Belleville—yet propositions may be so favorably made as to induce the Postmaster General to forego partial engagements made to individuals on the subject. You remark that a greater deviation from a straight line is made between Lexington and Frankfort, Ky., in the mail's transportation. Such has been the case, but the present Postmaster General has made an arrangement to send the mail between those points on the center road, to avoid the delay and inconvenience of traveling the less direct roads.

I have the honor to be your obe't serv't,

P. BRADLEY.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,
Belleville,
St. Clair Co., Illinois.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS.*

WATERLOO, 12th Aug., 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I conceive it my duty to communicate with you. I do it in the spirit of peace and good-will. Let the past be forgotten. It is right for the public good to unite, and lay aside all personal difficulties. Many of your friends are mine. Many of them have proposed me to the public as a candidate for governor. It is necessary to secure success for us all to act in concert. All this anxiety for the good of the state will come to nothing if we do not act together.

Friends to peace and good order are urging my claim, not so much for me as for the public. For this public we all are interested. Therefore it is meet that we act together. This can be done without making much parade about it, at the beginning. I have been over some of the

* John Reynolds was elected governor in 1830, after a long, laborious, and diligent canvass of more than a year. His opponent was William Kinney, the lieutenant-governor of the State when Edwards was governor. The Jackson party at this time was practically the only political party in the State. Reynolds and Kinney were both Jackson men, and the canvass they made was on state and personal issues. Kinney was a more pronounced and vehement administration man than Reynolds. Reynolds was a great master in the art of electioneering, and while a great admirer of Jackson and supporter of his administration, in all his speeches in the canvass he was very careful never to offend the anti-Jackson element, while Kinney was very emphatic in his denunciation of the anti-Jackson men. The consequence was that when the election came off, the latter, though not very numerous, all rallied to the support of Reynolds, which secured his election. While Reynolds was elected governor, the candidate for lieutenant-governor, Rigdon B. Slocumb,* who was on the ticket with him, was defeated, and Zadoc Casey, who ran on the ticket with Kinney, was elected lieutenant-governor. Before the close of their respective terms, both Reynolds and Casey were elected members of Congress.

* Slocumb was a man of no particular prominence. He served twice as a member of the house of representatives in the legislature (1824 and 1828) from Wayne County.

state this spring, and will see much of it this fall. I would be much pleased to say to our mutual friends that all was harmony in this section of the state.

We must act not only in concert, but with energy to gain all points. We have the means, if we use them right. We must head our opponents in their own way. Presses, speeches, and much riding must be brought in to our aid. I will do my part. I was placed on the track at Vandalia for this purpose that I could help myself. I have not been lazy in the business. We are all equally interested in the present approaching contest. The office I go in for with the wishes of our friends is not the only one.

Please write me to Kaskaskia by Mr. Cowles.

Your humble ser't,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Gov. N. EDWARDS, Belleville.

Fav'd by A. Cowles, Esq.

CHAPTER XXV.

Letter of Governor Edwards to John Reynolds; replies to letter of the latter about gubernatorial matters; as between Kinney and Reynolds, the latter has nothing to apprehend from his opposition; letter of Hooper Warren; a chapter of his struggles to make a livelihood by printing and publishing a newspaper; generosity and magnanimity manifested toward him by Governor Edwards; discouraging condition of things as connected with the publication of his paper; has to work early and late, Sundays and all; Judge Young offers him clerkship of court in Hancock County; his opinion of Kinney agrees with that of Governor Edwards; letter of Duff Green; all about scramble for office; Kinney at Washington to obtain control of removals and appointments in Illinois under the Jackson administration; members of Congress organize a corps in support of each other; about the appointment of Doctor Edwards as the receiver of the land-office at Edwardsville; urges Governor Edwards not to retire from politics; inducements for him to be elected to the senate; Crawford to be a candidate for the presidency; tells Governor Edwards in confidence that General Jackson will be a candidate for re-election; certain appointments will break the charm which Kinney has attempted to weave; a prudent man will guard at all times against contingencies; Governor Edwards' friends should act together throughout the State.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO JOHN REYNOLDS.*

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, 14th August, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter of the 12th

* This letter of Governor Edwards is in answer to the one written to him by Mr. Reynolds.

inst. in answer to which I have no hesitation in saying that there is nothing of hostility growing out of any past occurrences, to prevent my cordially co-operating with my friends in favor of any candidate for Governor whom they may agree upon. I will not oppose their wishes, and would gladly aid them to the full extent of my abilities in any deliberately-formed and well-concerted plan of operations for the public good. But unless the general wishes of the party shall be duly consulted and respected, and a concert and unity of action agreed upon, I must decline taking any active part. Defeat is at all times unpleasant. It would be peculiarly so now, that so little prudence, foresight, and energy are required to render success not only absolutely certain, but overwhelmingly triumphant. I will not therefore be identified in any measures, calculated to jeopardize it. Harmony, as you justly remark, is essential. It will be best attained by duly recognizing the equal claims to respect and consideration of all friends who are disposed to co-operate with us. Jealousies and discords will be the inevitable consequences of even seeming to act upon the exclusive advice and for the particular interest of a few persons assuming to be principal leaders. An independent mind can not yield the right of deciding for itself, and there is something revolting in the very idea of being transferred. A general consultation is therefore expedient, and every one should be made to feel that his rights and his claims of every description are to be duly respected. My policy is to go for the good of the whole, of each and every one, according to his merits, and to do none injustice, by undue partialities to others, and I will

venture to say that no party can be long kept together upon any other terms.

At present, however, I do not intend to commit myself. I must understand things a little better first. If I were not one of the most forgiving men in the world, I should doubtless feel that I had much cause to be opposed to both you and your present competitor. But this I will say, at least, that as between you and Mr. Kinney, you have nothing to apprehend from my opposition. I consider you as having much the least to answer for in regard to the ruinous and oppressive results of the State Bank, and whether right or wrong, I am under the impression that you are, both more disposed to assert and more capable of maintaining the right of the State to all the vacant lands within its limits. Upon this question I honestly declare I have no doubts, and it is my intention in due time, not only to demonstrate our right, but to show the means by which we can maintain it without any resort to force, or the slightest interuption to the tranquility of the Union. Besides that there is some reason to believe, that Mr. Kinney and his friends prefer another plan; their constantly charging me with insincerity in supporting this one, convinces me that they either can not comprehend my arguments in favor of it, or that they are in their hearts opposed to it. For none of them dare to meet me fairly before the people and answer the views which I took of this subject in my message to the last Legislature. This question demands fearless, faithful, and able advocates, both in Congress, and in the various departments of our State Government, and I will go for no

man that is not heartily in favor of it. I can maintain our right against any abilities, and I am determined to stick to it while there is a splinter to cling to.

If therefore I understand you rightly on this subject, there is a strong probability that we shall for once at least be found warmly on the same side. &c.,

N. EDWARDS.

JOHN REYNOLDS, Esq.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.*

GALENA, August 16th, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I received your letter of the 29th ult. on the 9th inst. From its tenor I presume you had not received intelligence of the great reforms in our land offices. It seems that if the administration wish your support, they are determined you shall co-operate with your worst enemies.

I am not unconscious of the relations which have existed between you and myself from our first acquaintance; or of the generosity and magnanimity which you have constantly manifested towards me. The case with the present establishment is different from any preceding one. I am not publicly identified with it; nor have any interest in it, except my living for a limited period (which, as you will see before I close, is likely to be short), as your interest, therefore, was so much greater than mine, it was no more than strict justice that the paper should take such a course as would soonest enable you to realize your outgoes upon

* This letter is but another chapter of the struggles of Mr. Warren to make a livelihood at his profession of printer and publisher of a newspaper.

it. I have never for a moment believed you have ever had a desire to control my *independence*, as you are pleased to call it. I would rather express it, that you have never wished to take advantage of my dependence.

What I am now about to write will be as unpleasant to you as it is distressing to me. The expenses which I incurred in travelling and in removing the printing materials to this place, exhausted my funds, and I was obliged to ask a credit for part of the passage fare of myself and family to this place. On our arrival, instead of having an office built and a house rented for me, I had to look for lodgings; and we stopped at the house of Mr. Leonard Goss, a poor man, whose wife was an acquaintance of mine in Boston. You have already been informed of our difficulties in getting the business started. I waited with patience in the hope that when we issued the first number, that some payments would be made. It is now a month since that time, and I have not yet seen the first cent paid for a subscription here, nor for anything else, excepting for an advertisement which was paid to me. I have boarded with Mr. Goss three months, and he, two weeks ago, informed me of the necessity of his being paid. I called on the doctors for funds, but they had none; they employed a man to go about the town to collect subscriptions in advance, but he could get nothing. Most of the subscribers had no money, and those who had, pleaded that N. & P. owed them. I have told the doctors that my sole object in embarking with them in the business was to get my living for the time being; and repeatedly pressed it upon them, that my current expenses must be

paid, or I must quit and clear out; and that I must know what they can or will do very soon. Yet I can get no satisfaction from them on the subject. They are necessarily the collectors, as they attend in the counting-room and I in the office. If they receive any payments I do not know it, excepting such as they offset in paying their own debts. Mr. Goss is not in a situation to board me any longer. I must therefore go to keeping house; and then if I can not get money to buy provisions, I must starve of course. For there is nothing like credit here now. I was told on my first arrival, that if a man trusted an article he would not get his pay, and if he lent a dollar he could not get it back again; and I have found it so. You see that the paper has no advertising worth mentioning. It takes, however, almost all that is going. There are nearly three hundred subscribers; a very good number for so young a paper, and could subscriptions be collected, it might do very well. Mr. Jones told me yesterday that he had "received assurances from a certain source, that he will be appointed to print the laws," and from the land sales being ordered in his paper, they would seem to be well founded. But it is not believed that Jones can go on with his paper. He has had no paper or ink for the last two weeks, but what we have lent him, and he has no money to get more, he is likewise very much involved here.

From the foregoing you will see that I am likely to be compelled to leave this place very shortly; for if I have to beg my bread, I would rather go into the settlements. In that event, what shall I do with your property? I will

not let it go out of my possession, except upon storage, unless the full value is paid or well and undoubtedly secured. N. & P. could not pay for it; whether they could secure it, I can not say. They are not the business men I took them to be; I would not advise you to authorize me to leave it in their hands on any other conditions. I see that by an advertisement of Mr. Ronaldson in Penn's paper, that he has reduced the price of long primer 20 per cent since the purchase from Keemle, a difference of $50 in the amount paid him. I would suggest to you to write to Gen. Green, perhaps he could induce the administration to purchase the press and send out an Editor. If it wants the vote of this State, it must, I am sure, take some other means than those already resorted to, to get it. It will find it necessary to make some friends as well as punish its enemies. Or perhaps you might sell it here by taking lead in payment, at a considerable advance on the cash price, and depend upon its rise to bring up the full amount.

Independent of the embarrassment above mentioned, I have been unwell for the last two weeks, and would not have attended to business, had not necessity required me. I am now confirmed in the opinion that I am like hundreds of others who have been obliged to quit the printing business on account of its not agreeing with their health. It might have been otherwise with me for the last two years, could I have labored less than I have done in it, but there is no probability of an amendment in this respect. Since I have started the business here I have had to work with all my might early and late, Sundays and all. It can not

be otherwise unless two journeymen are employed at $10 per week each. I have had no help the last week, and consequently to-morrow's paper will not be out in time for the mail. We had a man working for us until a journeyman could be procured. M'Guire was engaged, who was to come last Monday from Mineral Point. The man we had, left us on the ground of M'G.'s engagement. He has not yet come.

Under these circumstances I have concluded it is best for me to take up with the *first* vacancy in Young's circuit, but which happens to be a very good one in prospect. Judge Y. left here last week for Kaskaskia. Previous to leaving he offered me the situation in Hancock, or I might make my selection in any of the counties to be formed on the canal tract.

The county-seat of Hancock will probably be between Fort Edwards and the upper end of the Des Moines Rapids. Fort Edwards would be the handsomest situation, but it is too low down. The foot of the Rapids is 4 or 5 miles above the Fort, is most central, and there is a good site about a mile above (the foot of the Rapids), where it is probable the county-seat will be. Opposite this place on the Indian side, is "Keokuk," the capital of "Aborigina," a description of which you may have seen in our first No. It is the best landing place for steamboats, but as no titles in fee can be given for lots, our side would have the advantage. There will probably always be a great throng and stoppage of boats at these Rapids in low water. When Judge Young left here, I had not made up my mind to take the office in Hancock, but told

him I thought I should prefer to wait for Chicago. He said he would not at any rate make the appointment till he saw me again. Should you see him before he returns, I wish you to inform him that I have concluded to go to Hancock, as the county is organized. You have probably been applied to, to make the appointments that devolve on you. It might be best not to give them all to me, as it might cause some dissatisfaction. The Judge of Probate will probably not be worth anything worthy of notice; but the Recorder I suspect would bring something. With respect to the time of my going down, I would rather, if it were possible, stay here during the winter, but I see no probability of support for that time. My wife expects to be confined in 5 or 6 weeks. It will be therefore late in the fall, and near the close of navigation, before she can be moved. Should more favorable circumstances occur in my situation, I will let you know it.

Very respectfully, I am, your ob't servant,

H. WARREN.

Aug. 17th.

The foregoing was written late last night when I should have been asleep. On reading it over this morning, I find that many of my ideas are imperfectly expressed, but I have no time to copy or make amendments. I hope you can find them out.

I am glad your opinion of Kinney agrees so well with mine. I had supposed that of the two you preferred him to Reynolds. Judge Young is decided not to be a candidate.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.*

WASHINGTON CITY, August 19th, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I addressed you a short note a few days since in reply to yours of the 1st of August. I now will explain to you the causes which have led to the appointment of certain individuals in your State.

You are aware that Kinney came on to the city for the purpose of obtaining the control of the removals and appointments expected to take place under the new administration.

You ought to have been aware too that he brought on with him *signatures* to sustain his recommendations. The measures and policy of the administration were in accord with those, for which he contended, and you must know enough of the state of things here to appreciate my situation, when Benton, Kane, Duncan, and most of the Kentucky delegation, professing to act on the same principles, divided from or rather opposed me as to *men*. Foreseeing this collision the members of Congress soon organized a corps in support of each other, and I had no alternative but to throw myself on my paper and my own independence. I carefully refrained from all interference with appointments, except so far as it became my duty to transmit letters on that subject to the different departments. Finding that Gen'l Duncan was here and strongly supported by that whole interest for the Indian agency now held by Hamtrainer, I waited upon the President, went into a minute detail of the political relations of

* This letter will show that politics were about the same a half a century ago as they are now.

Illinois and Missouri, and explained fully the personal collision between his *old* friends and the Crawford and Clay men who had been forced out of the Jackson ranks. He listened to me with great interest and assured me of his disposition to sustain my friends and his and gave me a positive assurance that his subsequent appointments should be made from that portion of your citizens. I took that occasion to speak of Doctor Edwards and to urge his appointment as Receiver at Edwardsville; he suggested the propriety of waiting until the expiration of Mason's term and that the Doctor should in the meantime get letters setting forth his claims. I understood this to be a pledge to appoint him, at the same time that it was a delicate request that our friends should relieve him from responsibility by making each case as strong as possible, and upon this conversation I was induced to give you and Doctor Edwards the assurance that West would not be appointed.

This conversation took place during the absence of Mr. Ingham, and I had not conversed with him before the app't of West, which took place as follows:

Mr. Pell was instructed to enquire into the complaints against Mason, and to report whether he had been engaged in speculating in script. When *his* report came in, Mr. Ingham took up the case to the President, and having resolved to make the removal, Mr. Ingham, after an examination of the papers, reported in favor of West, and his appointment was made on the weight of recommendation. There being no recommendations in behalf of Dr. Edwards, his name was not brought before the

President, and the conversation with me did not occur to him. To say that the appointment would be recalled if a justifiable cause could be afforded, will not do justice to the feelings of the President. I am confident that he is as much or more mortified than you or I at it, but what are we to do? It only remains for you to make the best use you can of these things. Relax not in your efforts. Prove that your support of the President is sincere. Write to HIM in *confidence*, and all that has transpired will tend to increase instead of diminish your future influence. Permit me to say to you that you *must* not retire from politics. There are many inducements now presented, and if you can come into the Senate next year you will have a most complete triumph over your old enemies. Crawford aspires to be a candidate for the Presidency and has lately written a letter to one of his friends in New York expressing his desire to be brought forward in terms not to be misunderstood. I have acted my part with prudence and tell you now in confidence that Gen'l Jackson will be a candidate for re-election. No man looks with a more jealous eye to his future fame, and the opposition which it has been my policy to bring forth in all its bitterness at this early period has made essential to the party as well as to himself that he should be a candidate, In the meantime many interests arising out of the new state of things will place you, if in the Senate, in a situation to triumph over your enemies. I see that Duncan's paper at Vandalia endeavors to make the most of the *new* appointments. If you and your friends are prudent you will control the future appointments. I will give you an

account of them in a few days. Doctor Lane of St. Louis will be appointed Postmaster there, and should anything occur that will be acceptable to Doctor Edwards in your State he has only to apply for it and I am confident of his success. These appointments will break the charm which Kinney has attempted to weave and the knowledge of them should not only make you forgive the past but increase your efforts for the future. I wish you to write to Doctor Edwards and satisfy him that all things are well. You may show him, *but no one else, this letter*, after it is *read* do me the favor to destroy it; because I have said enough in it to give food for more misrepresentations than would fill the opposition prints for one year. I find that I can not well say less. So far from differing in politics we will be together; but you must rely some little upon the faiths which my advantageous position justifies me to expect. Your advice is always acceptable, and I trust you will not hesitate to write.

Your friend and relative,

DUFF GREEN.

A prudent man will at all times guard against contingencies. The strongest man should never rely on his *own* strength. Your friends throughout the State should act together. There is no hostility here towards the friends of Mr. *Adams*. Letters from *them* and the *old* friends of Gen'l Jackson will have great influence. You should use all means in your power to bring them to act in concert, always carefully keeping *my name* out of your *conversations*.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS, Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Letter of John Reynolds to Governor Edwards and Alfred Cowles; about starting out on an electioneering tour; Kinney urged as being the exclusive Jackson man before the people; "these lies must be headed"; "I go the whole hog for our people"; loves an active man more than a drone; recommends that the prominent Adams men should not abuse Jackson; "to keep cool and dark" on the election between him and Kinney; letter of Martin VanBuren, secretary of state, in relation to the surrender of Paul Vallad by the government of Canada; letter of George Forquer; the struggles and poverty of the early lawyers of Illinois; endeavoring to raise the sum of $300; letter of Hooper Warren; light shed upon the political condition at Galena at that time; Galena, the great centre of political influence; James Jones, the first printer of Galena; and Moses Meeker, one of the first settlers; Meeker's Point; "The Point"; name finally changed to Galena; Major Legate, superintendent of the United States lead-mines at Galena; Thomas Ford and James W. Stephenson said to be the editors of the "Miner's Journal"; Ford then a young lawyer at Galena; elected governor of the State in 1842; Judge Doty of the United States District Court of Michigan Territory becomes the Green-Bay correspondent of the "Galena Advertiser"; claims that the southern bend of Lake Michigan shall be the boundary; large majority of the Galena people want that line established; Kinney expected to visit Galena at the November court; letter of John Reynolds; returns after a thirty-six days' tour through the Wabash country; three-fourths of that country will "go in" for him against Kinney; Archer and Lowry "go in" for Reynolds much before Kinney; thinks that they would love to vote for Governor Coles if they could succeed with him; lies circulated that he is an Adams man; the only thing that Kin-

ney and friends have to go on; McRoberts whining about his voting for Forquer for attorney-general before him; sees McLean at Carmi; he is in a great heat of anger against Kinney and Kane.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS TO GOVERNOR EDWARDS AND ALFRED COWLES.

CLEAR LAKE, 4th Sept., 1829.

GENTLEMEN:—I am about starting to the White Co. Circuit Court, and will continue up to Vermillion Co. I will return home by Shelby and Montgomery. My friends all say this route is right. I hear from various quarters that K. and his friends are urging on the people, that K. is the exclusive Jackson man before the people. Col. Wight tells in Sangamon that K. will get all the Jackson men in the South, and I the Adams people. These lies must be headed. I have still the notion that an address to the people *soon* would correct all these lies, that I go in for Adams, &c., but I leave the time with you two. If you deem it best to publish it in the newspapers for the present, you can strike out the objectionable parts and send it down to Fleming. I think it ought to be framed as to state proper and prompt execution laws; not but they are right, but it is better to ease along for the present.

Mr. Breese, or some of our friends, could superintend the correct printing of it in the *Western Democrat*. The rest of the papers would publish it, so that enough would be, but at all events for the present.

I conversed with Mr. Forquer, and am well pleased with the information given me. I go in the "whole" "hog" for

our people. I will have no choice among friends, but I do love an active man more than a drone. Believe me the county elections shall not be forgotten. On this much depends.

I sincerely recommend it to all the prominent Adams men not to abuse Jackson, but go in for his administration as far as it is right. No administration ought to be supported farther. And particularly for them to keep *cool* and *dark* on the election between me and K. It would do no good, and perhaps much harm, to raise the old question.

Your friend,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Gov. EDWARDS and A. COWLES, Esq. } Belleville, Ill.

P. S. I hear in Greene that Jas. Lemen has some notion to offer for governor. I wish he could be seen on the subject. A letter from Gov. Edwards to Messrs. Field, Kimmel, and others would do well.

LETTER OF MARTIN VAN BUREN.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, 9th September, 1829.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Governor of Illinois, Vandalia.

Sir:—I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency

* This is an official letter written by Mr. VanBuren when he was secretary of state, during General Jackson's administration. It would be interesting to know the circumstances attending the demand for the extradition of Vallad and what was the communication alluded to of Mr. Vaughn, who was then the British minister.

the copy of a communication from Mr. Vaughn, which has just been received at this Department, in answer to the application which was lately made by it at your instance, through him, to the Governor General of Canada, for the surrender of Paul Vallad and of a mulatto slave stolen by the said Vallad from a citizen of Illinois, who were supposed to have taken refuge in lower Canada, and to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

M. VAN BUREN.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.*

WATERLOO, Oct. 5, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—When I was at Belleville on my way up the country I recollect that you said in the event of my determining to sell my land adjoining the town of Springfield, you would like to have the preference in the purchase. I have between 45 and fifty acres, adjoining the town on the south, and it is admitted by everybody to be the most beautiful property about the place. I believe it is better for me to sell, because I believe I am not able to hold it and profit by its rise. By dividing it into small lots I believe it would sell for $500, on a credit of six months. I had when there several applications for small lots of 5 and 10 acres, but I would rather sell the whole to some person who could pay promptly at a low price. I find in order to

* This letter illustrates the struggles and poverty of our early lawyers. Mr. Forquer was at this time one of the most prominent lawyers of the State, and the attorney-general. He was endeavoring to raise the small sum of $300, either by sale of property or by giving a draft on the State for $350, which was the amount of his yearly salary.

make myself and family perfectly easy and comfortable, until I can fairly get under way in the upper country, that I will need about $300, to live upon and to discharge a few debts, to the amount of about $100. Rather than to need the means to do either of these when called on I would sell that property for $350, which is what I told you when we spoke of it, and which is 33⅓ per cent less than any property adjoining is estimated at, and has been sold at. Should you feel disposed to purchase I will be glad to sell, and one hundred of the amount I will want in goods, and in payment of the demand you hold against my brother John. Nothing but the leanness of my purse would induce me to sell at this time, but the truth is I am now closer to the wind than I have been for some time, and more so than I can be again soon. The above sum however would place me in perfectly easy circumstances.

Should you not feel inclined to invest cash in this kind of property I should like to raise the sum of $300, by giving my draft upon the state for my next year's salary $350, to any person who would let money at that interest, which is nearly 18 per cent. This would be as certain security as a borrower of money could well give, as the payment would be as certain as the life of the borrower.

If it would suit your interest to accommodate me upon either of these plans it will add one more to the many obligations I already feel for your past kindness, but I do most sincerely hope you will not think I would presume upon that kindness unless I thought my offers, if you have the spare capital, would in some degree be beneficial to you, though I would be greatly the obliged person. Will

you have the kindness to answer me by the bearer. Mr. Cowles has loaned money at a less interest than I offer, it may be he would take the draft upon the State.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.*

GALENA, Oct. 6, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—My situation at this place has not materially altered for the better since I wrote to you last. To render it more convenient to my partners I have consented to board with Dr. P., but it is by no means comfortable or

* This letter of Mr. Warren sheds considerable light upon the political condition in Galena at that time. Galena was then the only point of any importance in the entire northwestern part of the State, and was the great centre of political influence. Jones was the first printer of Galena. Moses Meeker was one of the very first settlers of what afterward became Galena; the place was first named Meeker's Point. The Meeker's was subsequently dropped, and it was known as "The Point", until the name was changed by a meeting of the citizens, to the very appropriate name of Galena. Captain or Major Legate, as he was known, the superintendent of the United States lead-mines there, was an ex-army officer—an intelligent and gentlemanly man, who continued to live at Galena until his death, many years ago. Major Campbell, his assistant, was from Jackson, Tennessee, and a great friend of General Jackson, to whom he was indebted for his place.

As to Ford and Stephenson, who were said "to be the editors of the *Miners' Journal*," Ford was then a young lawyer at Galena, subsequently to become governor of Illinois, and Stephenson was one of the most influential of the young men at the lead-mines at that time, and made a land-officer, when the land-office at Galena was established. Judge Doty was James Duane Doty, one of the district judges for Michigan Territory. He was a delegate in Congress from Wisconsin for four years, from 1837–41; governor of Wisconsin Territory, 1841–44; afterward for several years a representative in Congress from the State of Wisconsin; and in 1864 appointed, by Mr. Lincoln, governor of Utah Territory, and died at Salt Lake, Utah, June 11th, 1865.

agreeable, especially in the present situation of my family. Our paper may be said to be doing very well. The subscription is constantly increasing, and begins to have considerable advertising, but the payments are few, so far as they are known to me. Mr. Jones seems to be indebted to almost everybody here, and business is given to him in order to redeem his debts. Several merchants have told us that as soon as they get him out of their debt they will give all their business to us. It was a mistake about Dr. P.'s *receiving a letter from Mr. Kinney*, offering him the Public Printing. Mr. K. traveled from Washington with Mr. Moses Meeker of this place, and requested him to tell Dr. P. that he could give him the *contract* for the Public Printing. Dr. P. took it to be the *State* printing that was meant, and inquired of me who had the disposal of it. I informed him. Dr. Newhall afterwards informed me what gave rise to the inquiry, by saying that P. had received a letter, &c., from K. Upon inquiring of P. since the receipt of your last letter, he explained it to me as above, and added, that from my statement he thought Mr. Meeker misunderstood K., and he had written to Mr. K. requesting him to use his influence to get the U. S. Printing for us. Dr. P. did however receive a letter from K. soon after his return from the East, *inquiring what course the Galena Advertiser would take in the Governor's election*, to which P. returned an answer *that he did not know*. I have ascertained that the *certain source* of Mr. Jones' information that he would be appointed was a letter from his brother, the Rev. Wm. Jones, and that it was to come from the Rev. Mr. K.

Capt. Legate, our superintendent, has written to Mr. Van Buren in our behalf, and Major Campbell, his assistant, a personal acquaintance of the President, has addressed Gen. Jackson on the same subject. But I think as Mr. V. B. has taken up Mr. K. that unless the President interferes, that Jones will get it.

I have thought strange that *your* friends *here*, and those of my friends in the state who advised me to come to this place, should do all in their power to undermine and put down this establishment. I am informed that none have been more zealous in that course than Messrs. Ford & Stephenson. It is said they are to be the editors of the *Miners' Journal*. It is certain that since its resuscitation it has received the benefit of both their pens. I have perhaps no right to complain of either, more especially of Mr. F., as I have never had any particular manifestation of his good regard, except during the pendency of the last congressional election. But considering the advice you gave me with respect to the administration, and viewing *him* as *your* confidential friend, his conduct has been really surprising to me. Our prospectus carried the idea of a Jackson paper—the editorial address in the first No. the same; yet for the 2d No. he brought me a piece commenting on an article in the St. Louis *Beacon* in favor of the administration of Jackson, in which the *Beacon*, if not Jackson, was abused in the most scurrilous manner, so much so that I would not at all events have consented to publish it without alteration. I briefly explained to him the course we intended to take, alluded to our prospectus, &c., and suggested to him that we had better let the Jackson writers

begin first, and then he could reply, &c. But he seemed to be offended, and has taken the course indicated above.

It will perhaps eventuate to my benefit that you had previously disposed of the appointments for Hancock. My highest ambition is, to put myself in such a situation that I can comfortably support my family and educate my children, without being a burden to my friends. This I believe I can, and am determined to do. I am fully persuaded that Warren will be the best county in the Bounty Tract; but I am afraid the back settlements would be too strong to fix and retain the county-seat on the Mississippi. Were both counties to be organized at the same time I would prefer Chicago, because I feel confident that it will be the principal commercial port in our state; and besides, as I have numerous relations in the western part of New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire, none of whom have I seen for nearly twenty years, I could at that place have an easy and more direct communication with them, and perhaps induce some of them to move hither. If I could get into any employment at Chicago, or on the canal tract, next summer, I think I would go, independent of the prospect of any appointment.

I hope you have read the numbers of our Green Bay correspondent. He is Judge Doty. You are among others to whom he requested us to send the papers containing his essays. *I want you to answer them.* You will see that the whole of his arguments respecting Ohio and Indiana do not apply to Illinois, as our boundary has the assent of Congress, while that of the former states has not. I will further suggest to you that, the ordinance

does not say that the east and west line from the southerly bend of Lake Michigan *shall be the boundary;* but that Congress *may* form one or more states *north* of that line—and would not the southern boundary of the state of Wisconsin at 42° 30′ be in accordance with that *injunction* or *permission?* Further, Illinois has a *natural* right to a port on Lake Michigan, which the old line would cut her off from. This subject is of more importance than you may think it is. A large portion, perhaps a majority of the people here, are of Judge Doty's opinion, and are wishing and expecting the old line to be established. I have been informed that Judge D. has said that should a case of jurisdiction come before him, he would decide against us. The contention in Michigan proper is for *ten* miles only, which Ohio and Indiana have got *north* of the "east and west line."

I hope I shall yet see you here this fall. Kinney is to make us a visit, probably at the November court. We received no Vandalia papers last week, of course could not finish your letter to Berry. I think you have "used them up." It seems that Hall could afford to print but a few paragraphs of your letter at a time, while he would devote six or eight columns to a "simpleton story" from his own brain.

Yours,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS.*

CLEAR LAKE, 13th Oct., 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I reached home after a 36 days' tour through the Wabash country. I can not be mistaken when I inform you that three-fourths of that country will go in for me against K. All the men of sober, reflecting character, of all sides, say K. ought not to be elected. In White, Wabash, Clark, Edgar, and Vermillion there will be almost an unanimous vote against him. In the other counties there is not such a rooted hatred against him. The Judge and all the lawyers, except W. Ketchel, who says he will not be against me and the rest, will take an active part in the election. I am under great obligations to Robinson, Harlin, and Judge Wilson for their support and friendship.

I returned by the way of Shelby Co. and Vandalia. In those places there is little said on the subject by the common people. They are new and strange to one another. I must attend to the interior counties before the election.

As to the result, there can be no doubt between me and Kinney. There are many on the Wabash, and in other places, if they could succeed with an Adams man they would not vote for either of us, but they are fearful to try the experiment. A letter from you to Messrs. Archer, Lowry, Capt. Alexander, sen'r, and others whom you may

* This letter lets in a great deal of light on the gubernatorial canvass of Reynolds. He evidently had a strong backing on the Wabash, as many of the most prominent men in that section were his friends. The hardest thing for him to meet was the charge of Kinney and his friends, that he was an "Adams' man". McRoberts "whined" about his voting for Forquer for attorney-general, instead of himself.

know better than I do, would have a good effect. The two first named men, Archer and Lowry, go in for me much before K., but I think they would love to vote for Gov. Coles if they could succeed with him, which is out of the question. This notion is given up by Coles' best friends, as I understand by Mr. Jas. Mason and others. Old Capt. Alexander is much your friend, and is much for Jackson. He will go in for me or K. at all events. A letter from you to S. Stewart of Mt. Carmel, would do well. He is strong Methodist.

I passed through Ferguson's Settlement or Silver Creek, and find them halting and doubting more than I expected. I think Conway or Todd could aid in the business with F. I can not by my present arrangement be at the court next week at Edwardsville, as I want to be at Jonesboro' at the same time, and so go on with Judge Browne to Gallatin. If I can leave home, I know that I ought to see the southern part of this state. On this subject I want to hear from you and Mr. Cowles.

As to the circular I am certain, from all I hear, it ought soon to be put out to the people, when they first begin to agitate the question; but I suppose it will do when we meet at Vandalia at court in December. In the meantime I will see in the south about the state paper statement. This circular would end the lies that our opponents try to circulate for truths—that I am an Adams man, &c. This lie is the only thing that I hear of which K. and friends have to go on. McRoberts is whining about my voting for Forquer before him for Attorney General. I silence all by showing the fact, that it was generally agreed in the

Legislature that an office confined to a section of the state should be regulated by the Representative of that section. A majority of the circuit where F. presides prefered him.

If you have time please write me the news, so I may know how to act.

Your friend,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

P. S. Please shew the above to our friend A. Cowles, Esq.

N. B. I saw McLean at Carmi. He is in a great heat of anger against Kinney, and same against Kane. It was agreed amongst all not to make any removals in this state until an enquiry could be made into the cases. Ingham put it into writing, but McLean and Duncan left the city, and K. came on from Boston. This agreement was violated. It seems that McLean is interested personally to put the matter right. If so, K. must fall. It would be well for you to correspond with McLean on the subject. He was at Vandalia, but returned to Shawneetown.

J. R.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Letter of John Reynolds; still on his canvass for governor; his friends interested in him "for the good of the country"; the welfare of his friends and country to have his whole attention whether elected or not; everything right in Union County; thinks it will be so in Jackson County; an immense current against Kinney in that quarter; letter of Duff Green; appointment of Emanuel J. West as chargé d'affaires to Peru; Ingham not a friend of Governor Edwards; Duncan constantly with him and fills his ears with slanders; letter of George Forquer; proposed sharp practice to get control of a newspaper at Springfield; shows political management in this State in "ye olden time"; letter of Duff Green; Samuel D. Ingham, secretary of treasury under General Jackson, surrounded by bitter enemies of Governor Edwards; Ingham's hostility to the governor; West tells the president that John McLean of the senate is hostile to him; suggests that if Edwards will beat Duncan for Congress, all will be right; letter of A. P. Field; the gubernatorial contest for 1830 already entered upon; political meetings in Union, Johnson, and Pope counties; letters of A. P. Field; candidates who will be elected to the senate and house; Brooks not elected but Grammar is; John Grammar's speech as given by Judge Gillespie; Grammar, an early settler of Southern Illinois; member of the territorial council; afterward for many years a state senator; a type of the early Egyptian politicians; ignorant, illiterate, and full of prejudice, but inflexibly honest; while hating the "abolishioners," was never in legislative rings, and their hands never stained with bribes; letter of Hooper Warren; Jones of the opposition paper supports Kinney for governor; Colonel Wight sent to Galena for the purpose of operating for Kinney; VanBuren's and Kinney's arrangements must be broken in upon; removals and

appointments in this State intended to mortify Gov. Edwards; Doctor Newhall in favor of Reynolds; Thomas Ford elected governor in 1842; backed out as a justice of the peace at Galena in 1829; wants to leave the establishment in the spring.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS.*

JONESBORO, 24th Oct., 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I find everything right in this county, and think it will be so in Jackson. There is an immense current in this quarter against Kinney. It is impossible for him to stem it.

The Revs. Peck and Green, of the Rock Spring, have great weight with their church in this county. All here look to these men for information. The Rev. Edwards of this county is against K., but a communication with the church here and the gentlemen of the R. Spring would do much. Please attend to this matter. It is right for the good of the country it should be done. Mr. Cowles or you can see the above gentlemen, get them to write and keep a writing down here.

There are very many interested for the good of the country in this election. I am selected as the preferable agent to effect this good, and I do assure you that the wellfare of my friends and the country shall have my whole attention, elected or not.

* Reynolds is still on his canvass, and this letter is characteristic of him. His friends are interested in him "for the good of the country", and the "welfare of his friends and the country" are to have "his whole attention, whether elected or not."

You will see in the *Democrat* the meeting was had in this county.

Yours truly,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.*

WASHINGTON, 22d Nov., 1829.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter relative to West is received. His appointment as chargé d'affaires to Peru was made upon the recommendation furnished him from the West and sustained by a strong mercantile interest in New York, whilst having a large amount of property in Peru advanced his outfit and urged his appointment. You have been deceived as to the use of public money by West. I have seen the Bank returns corresponding with the Register's report up to the first of November, showing that all the money received by West has been paid into the Bank at *St. Louis*.

So much for West. As to Benjamin I have written to you and to him, and have notified you both that there is no recommendation of him on file in the Treasury, and you can not be ignorant of the necessity of placing something on record to sustain the appointments. If the *new* friends of the President have been more successful it is be-

* Emanuel J. West, whose appointment as *chargé d'affaires* to Peru is spoken of, was a prominent man of Madison County at this time; a great democrat and pro-slavery man. Judge Joseph Gillespie represents him as being a splendid conversationalist, and possessed of fine manners. He settled in Illinois, in 1818, on a beautiful farm near Edwardsville, which he called "Glorietta". He died before reaching his post.

cause they have sustained themselves and made a stronger case. It is too much to find fault with me, or with the President, for not doing what you and his friends in Illinois ought to do.

Mr. Ingham is not *your* friend. Duncan is constantly with him, and fills his ears with slanders against you. I hope that your project of going to Texas will not be carried into effect. You ought to come here. I have prevailed on the President and Mr. Ingham to postpone the appointment of a successor of West until Benjamin can have time to send on recommendations. I have also written to Presley on the subject. I have the word of the President, if proper recommendations are sent in.

Yours affectionately, D. GREEN.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.*

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

SPRINGFIELD, Nov. 3, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I have but a few minutes to write, and my anxiety to inform you of a transaction in which I have been engaged since I came here must be my excuse for the careless manner of this letter.

When on my way here I lodged with the printer, Mere-

* This letter shows the political management in this State in "Ye Olden Time". This was a movement in the interest of Reynolds as against Kinney. The newspaper in question was to be a Jackson paper any how, and the question was whether it should be under the control of the friends of Reynolds or the friends of Kinney. It is certain that a very sharp game was contemplated against the latter, but it did not succeed.

dith, who is about to print a Jackson paper at this place. I sounded him as to its intended course in state politics, and soon found that it was to be a *Kinney-Jackson* paper, to be edited behind the name of the printer by McRoberts, who *comes here to reside* as soon as the district court is over. I then contrived to alarm him by laughing about the fate of several poor printers who the same set of fellows had heretofore used up in their service. He became uneasy, and next morning said they had been delaying and fooling him long enough, and if they did not furnish the cash when he came to town he would print for anybody that would start him. I told him to let me hear from him when I got to town. On his arrival he called on May and Taylor (who he said were to furnish the cash, $400, to start him) and they wanted him to wait only a few days longer. (Bell being then here Uncle Sam's cash must all be in sight.) The printer, not understanding the true cause of delay, became disgusted and came immediately to me. I collected six of our friends, and we paid $160, and bound the printer to *secrecy under penalty of being dumped from the establishment and deprived of all the proceeds*, but if he is faithful he is to have the establishment and *all* the proceeds as long as he will publish it under *our direction* and no longer. The cost will be $385 to start it with five reams of paper, $235 down, $150 in three or six months; $75 are wanting to start it. I have written to Dr. Edwards and McKee for God's sake to pay that sum to Capt. Henry, who is to procure some friend in St. Louis to purchase the press, take charge of it and bring it to Springfield. The other $150 we must depend

upon our friends elsewhere to assist us in paying. The beauty of the thing is, that Kinney and his friends here and elsewhere are now pushing the prospectus for signers, and *it is not intended that they shall know the paper will be against them* until they have done all they can for it in this way, and the subscription lists are all returned. It will be time enough for the printer to let them know when the first number is about to be issued that he does not *need* the assistance of Lord Mansfield. What a shock this —will it not be? All is so far well contrived, and they have not the least suspicion, nor will they have until the paper is in motion. The printer is to say he has received funds from Ohio, which they know he has been expecting, or rather he is to write this from St. Louis, and desire his *Jackson* friends to push on with the subscription lists. The *deep secrecy* in which this transaction is covered renders it dangerous to call upon too many of our friends for assistance, and as there was no time for delay it was then or never. The examiner once gone and the land sales over, and they would have had a *Jackson* press here, but as it is they can not start one without exposing the *fact* that it is not Gen. Jackson they want supported, for ours will do *that.* I am to edit it behind the name of the printer *for nothing.* Whether our friends at Edwardsville will let the advantage we have got fail or not I know not. It depends on them entirely, for Capt. H. can not go further than he has at this time, nor can I. I have said to them, rather than it should now fail, if they will only lend it to him I will repay it in six months, which would give me time to collect from our friends elsewhere. The paper will be fur-

nished to 200 or 300 gratis, in addition to the subscription list. Such is our contract. It will, if it succeeds, have a more extensive circulation than any of our papers. I am *not to be known* as having control of the paper. The first number will issue to Mr. *Kinney's* Jackson friends about the 20th, and *then it* should be pushed among Reynolds' and our folks.

Yours in great haste,

GEORGE FORQUER.

I hope I may see you at the district court, and also Cowles and Reynolds.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.*

WASHINGTON, 4th Nov., 1829.

DEAR SIR:—You will see that West is otherwise provided for!!!! and that the office at Ed.^{ve} is vacant. I was much disappointed, upon calling at the Treasury, to find that there was not a single recommendation of Doctor Edwards on file. You know enough of these matters to know that were Mr. Ingham ever so much disposed to make the appointment, he would not do it without having something on which to satisfy the Senate that it was called for by our friends in Illinois, but I regret to say that you have bitter enemies who have his ear. Duncan is his nearest neighbor, is always with his family, and constantly

* Samuel D. Ingham was General Jackson's first secretary of the treasury, appointed March 6th, 1829. He was succeeded by Louis McLane of Delaware, August 8th, 1831.

using all his ingenuity to impress a belief that you are hostile to him and the administration. Mr. Ingham says that the insinuation in your letter that he had committed himself to us both is unfounded. He was much provoked, and defies any publication you may make. You will see that with all the prejudice against you, this attack upon him, so unexpected to me, is calculated to do great injury to your friends, and throw the patronage of the government into the hands of your enemies. He says that until that letter came he was your friend. He now considers you his enemy, and defies you to do your worst. He told me last night that he had seen two papers belonging to you, in which the President was abused, &c., referring to the *Spectator* and Shawneetown papers, *I suppose*, for he did not know the names. I told him that I did not believe you had exercised any control over those papers. He said he had been credibly informed that they belonged to you. I have written to Doctor Edwards, and will to-day write to Presley, and will do all that I can to delay the appointment until he can have time to write and send on his recommendations. It is due to me that these should be sent on if the appointment is not delayed, because, acting under the assurances of Doctor Edwards, I have pledged myself to the President that the recommendations would be sent on.

West has told the President that Mr. McLean, of the Senate, is hostile to him, and the marriage of his brother to your niece is connected with his hostility as an evidence of *your* hostility. I can see and understand all these movements. All that you have to do is to be firm and

prudent. Do not permit yourself to be thrown into hostility to the President, and if you beat Duncan for Congress all will be right. In the meantime my eyes are open. I see all things that are going on around me, and will maintain my position with Congress and the people.

Hunt writes to *me* that he will be on here this winter. Doctor Lane should get petitions for his removal from every part of the state and send them directly to the President, and should notify me of the time at which they are transmitted, and all will yet be well.

Your friend and relative,

D. GREEN.

I have the most flattering accounts from your son Albert.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTERS OF A. P. FIELD.*

SHAWANEETOWN, ILLINOIS, Nov. 8, 1829.

DEAR GOV.:—I received your letter at this place, and have barely time to say that things are going on better than you could even have supposed. We have had meetings in Union, Johnson, Pope, and intend having in this County; and I will assure you Kinney will not get one-third of the votes in those Counties. I have not seen the publication in the Kaskaskia paper, or I would reply to it immediately over my own signature. You may rest

* Though the election for governor, in the contest between Reynolds and Kinney, was not to take place until August, 1830, it will be seen that the canvass between the two parties had been actively entered upon in the fall of 1829.

assured that things are going on better in this quarter than ever. Reynolds is with us, and promises all you can desire in relation to your future movements.

In truth, your friend,

A. P. FIELD.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq'r,
Belleville, Illinois.

JONESBORO, Nov. 26th, 1829.*

DEAR GOV.:—I expected to be at Vandalia before this, but I am and have been so unwell that it is impossible for me to be at Vandalia shortly. * * *

* Brooks was not elected to the senate in August, 1830, but John Grammar was. Priestly and Whittaker were elected to the house of representatives, as Field predicted. Johnson, Union, and Alexander counties then formed a legislative district, entitled to one senator and two representatives. Judge Gillespie calls John Grammar of Union County the "celebrated constitutional expounder," and gives a speech of his in the legislature, questioning the validity of the title of slaves in Illinois. In a debate arising on that subject, the Judge says that "the old gentleman instantly arose, and remarked 'that fittener men' than he was 'mout hev been found to defend the masters agin the sneakin' ways of the infernal abolitioners; but havin' rights on my side, I don't fear, Sir. I will show that that are proposition is unconstitutionable, inlegal, and fornenst the compact. Don't everyone know, or leastwise had ought to know, that the Congress that sot at Post Vinsan garnisheed to the old French inhabitants the right to their niggers, and hain't I got as much rights as any Frenchman in this State? Answer me that, Sir?'" *

John Grammar was a very early settler of Southern Illinois and was a member of the territorial council from Johnson County in 1816–17, and also in 1817–18. He afterward removed to Union County, and was elected to the State senate in 1822, and was a vehement advocate for the passage of the convention resolution, to the end that Illinois might become a slave-state. He was re-elected to the senate from Union and Alexander counties in 1824; also again elected senator from Union, Johnson, and Alexander counties in 1830. This seems to have been the end of his legislative service. He was a

* "Sketch of Edward Coles," by E. B. Washburne.

† In the earlier times the southern part of Illinois was known as "Egypt". The old whigs used to say that the name was given on account of the political darkness which reigned there — all that part of the State being intensely democratic.

Be assured that all things are going on here well. Brooks will be elected to the Senate and Whitaker and Priestly to the H. Rep.; *all* your particular *friends*. It would be well, however, for you to write to them. You will see from the last Louisville paper that I have induced Penn to change his ground. I gave him a full history of matters here. Your friend,

A. P. FIELD.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq'r,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, Dec. 1, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—You will have seen that your letter of the 4th ult. was duly received. I have been hitherto prevented from answering it.

I perceive that the governor's election is beginning to excite great interest below; but there is not much said about it here. There is no doubt of Jones supporting Kinney. He has not published the proceedings of any of the meetings nominating Reynolds. It is understood that Col. Wight was sent here for the purpose of operating for K. It is supposed that if Duncan's bill succeeds this

type of the early Egyptian politician,† and more intensely pro-slavery in his feelings than almost any man who could be found in a slave-state. But there is one thing which should be said to the honor of the old Egyptian politicians, while many of them were ignorant, illiterate, and full of prejudice, they were inflexibly honest, and from their standpoint served the State faithfully and honestly. If John Grammar hated the "abolitioners", it may be safely said that he was never in any legislative rings, and that his hands were never stained with bribes.

winter, relative to the superintendency of the Mines, that Wight will be appointed superintendent and Campbell the receiver. I have no objection to Maj. Campbell, but if you could defeat Wight, it might be of service to the State to do so. I am told that Col. Field came out yesterday decidedly in favor of Reynolds, and it is thought by some that Jones will take the same course, as he has heretofore been swayed by F.; but I believe that J. is pledged to Kinney, as well on account of his brother as the consideration of the public printing. I have had no conversation with Judge Young since last summer, but I intend to have soon, and know his views relative of the course we ought to take.

It seems to me that Van Buren's and Kinney's arrangements *must* be broken in upon this winter. Will Calhoun and Ingham, as your friends, submit to them? Every removal and appointment in this State appears to have been intended to mortify you. All the friends of the late administration, who were inimical to you, excepting M'Kee, have been removed. I can not believe that you will kiss the rod without a prospect of righting yourself by it.

Respecting your inquiry relative to the course of our paper, you can have no doubt as to myself. Dr. Newhall is in favor of R. in preference to K., but he is unwilling to come out on the subject at present. I have urged him this morning of its propriety, so much at least as to declare ourselves. Whether it will be done in the next paper is uncertain. Dr. Philleo, I am inclined to think, will be willing to go against K. if Jones gets the printing.

From a conversation with Mr. Ford* a short time since, I inferred that he would go over to K. We had influence enough to back him out as a candidate for justice of the peace, though he had a fair prospect when first announced. This was for the part he took against us, and in favor of Jones. J. W. Stephenson is announced as a candidate for the Legislature, and I apprehend the same fate awaits him. It is said here that he has gone below for the purpose of getting the Receiver's office at Edwardsville, and that he has the benefit of Col. Wight's influence for that purpose.

As I have intimated to you before, our paper, considering the times, is doing very well. We have nearly 400 subscribers, nearly 30 of which are in St. Louis; and though we have scarcely any jobs and but little advertising, we have nearly all that is doing. I have been for some time trying to have the books posted, to see how we stand individually, as well as the whole amount expended and received; and it is promised to be done by the first of next month. It is my earnest wish to leave the establishment in the spring. But I would be willing to serve my friends by continuing in it till after the election, if it should be necessary, provided I could live through it. I am in purgatory now, and since I have been here. I am also willing to be governed for the best good of the establishment, in order to effect a sale. If business revives in the spring, as I think it will, new adventurers will arrive,

* Thomas Ford, elected governor of the State in 1842. Few people of the State at this late day know that he was "backed out" as candidate for justice of peace in Galena in 1829.

and some of them might be inclined to embark in the business, who have capital sufficient to purchase and carry it on. It would, however, be but justice to give N. & P. a fair chance, should they wish to retain it. N. talks of dissolving partnership with P. in the practice of medicine. How this would affect the arrangements of the paper, I am unable to say. * * I believe Dr. N. would do better if alone. I have no fault to find with them. They are both obliging in their dispositions. My family is still boarding with Dr. P. I shall make an effort to commence housekeeping before spring, especially if I find I am to stay here during the summer. We have a daughter two months old.

I do not think it will be necessary to give you up as the author of the letter from Edwardsville, if required, as verbal accounts of the same import were both before and since received. Yours truly,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Letter of George Forquer; shows the spirit of the contest for governor between Reynolds and Kinney; Forquer, a great Reynolds man; indignant at the treatment he has received; "I will take care of my family, and politics may go to ——"; many members of his party are troublesome and dead weights; "a cent-per-cent set"; believes one passion rules General Jackson, namely vengeance; a mere executioner in the hands of a set of Jacobins; General Jackson against Gov. Edwards and his friends; Kinney and company want to mix up Governor Edwards in the gubernatorial fight; his party reminds him of a game-cock that had been whipped; nothing but a fighting front by the whole party can do any good; "let all fight or none, all write or none, all talk or none"; letter of John Reynolds; illustrates the spirit of the canvass then progressing between Kinney and himself; will labor hard to pay his debt of gratitude to his country and his friends; will change some of the expressions of Alfred Cowles more into his own "lingo"; letter of Edmund Roberts; an early suggestion of "making a harbor at Chicago"; three vessels arrived at Chicago; number of wagons had come from the head of the Wabash for salt, etc.; and also from the settlement on the rapids of Illinois; letters of Hooper Warren; Mr. Canal wants to be informed of the author of a letter published in the "Galena Advertiser"; advises Governor Edwards to write nothing anonymously; Kane has been caught in that way; nothing said yet in his paper about the governor's election; next number of the paper comes out for Reynolds; difference between Dr. Newhall and Dr. Philleo, the proprietors of the paper, upon this subject; the mercantile interest of the place opposed to the administration, and will go in a body for Reynolds; the West case; Colonel Wight, T. W. Smith, and Captain Henry; Kinney heartily opposed to the Canal; Ford not against Reynolds; letter of Sidney Breese; recommends an appointment to office.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.*

SPRINGFIELD, December 1, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—Yours has been received. All that you say is true, and I have seen it but too long. I have been sacrificed upon the altar of party meanness. Had I been generally supported and backed by such as should have done it, I might have been servicable to the country; but I was not. I sustained the expense of a *party contest*, and am made poor by it. Now why should I fight for any party when no party will fight for me, but on the contrary, when all the aspirants in *both* parties *are* against me, and would at any time coalesce to keep me down? Shall I fight for Lockwood, Wilson, Field, Caverly, Pugh, &c., not one of whom has even the germs of a statesman or politician in him, although each thinks he has a right to be advanced before me? Shall I open my veins for no higher purpose than that such men may be benefited by my blood, and my family thrown upon the world vagrants, objects of even their contempt? No, by heavens! God never made me for such an ignoble use. But I will *fight*, *write*, and *talk*, at any place or time and in any manner the enemy chooses, if others will do likewise; but if they will not, I will take care of my family and politics may go to ——. This I can do independent of office. The truth is, our party is not composed of the stuff. We boast more talents than our enemies, but what sort of

* This letter shows the spirit of the contest between Reynolds and Kinney for governor, to be elected in August, 1830. Forquer was a great Reynolds man as against Kinney, and he probably felt much better when he found his favorite candidate elected.

talents are they, all so far below mediocrity (except Breese and Lockwood and a few others, who are good lawyers) that they can not distinguish between their equals and superiors, and therefore are troublesome and dead weights. Mere clogs, and in money matters all are mean, every one has a poor mouth to make. A cent pr. cent set. Whilst the others advance the last dollar and then borrow, for the good of the party. The contrast between them and us was proved here the other day. When I called upon our friends here, *who are rich*, to help me take their printer from them, "hard times" rung like a funeral dirge when we took the last long look at the enormous sum of $185 departing from our pockets. But when McRoberts came here the other day with suspicions against their printer, they offered him in cash down if he would enter into written obligations, as follows: Gen'l Adams, $50; May, $50; Carpenter, $50; Taylor, $50; Herndon, $50; McRoberts, $50 = $300, and agreed to bind themselves in writing that Kane should give $100; Kinney, $100; and Casey, $50; and, moreover, to furnish all ink and paper for 500 subscribers for one year, and the printer to have and own the establishment and all its proceeds, without one cent ever being refunded. There then was an offer to pay the printer at least $1500 for one year's work in their service. Can *we* compete with such men? No, sir, they will beat our cent pr. cent set to death.

As to what we ought and might do with Gen'l Jackson, concerning his appointments, I am an infidel. I believe but one passion rules him, viz.: *vengeance*, such as has always marked the lives of sanguine warriors of the

forest. As to him, he is a mere executioner in the hands of a set of Jacobins, and he knows not, nor cares not, upon whom and when they order him to inflict the blow. Where are *Green*, Semple, McLean, and others who *know all* the facts necessary to enlighten him as to the character of West and others? Where is the letter you wrote to *him* at *his request?* McLean has been furnished with record evidence of McRoberts' conduct from the tax list. I have written to McLean a cool, argumentative letter, but I doubt even his action. With the above *means* of information, if Gen'l Jackson intended to do any thing against Kinney and against dishonest men, he would not have appointed West. It is but too plain that he is against *you and friends*, and so are Green and Ingham. I therefore have no hopes of doing anything with him until we can get the State Government and the delegation in Congress on our side.

I perceive that Kinney & Co. do not mean to let the contest continue between Reynolds and Kinney, but intend to make it one between *you* and them. By this course they expect to call into action *all* the Jackson feeling, as well as *all* outstanding prejudices against you, on their side. They think they will then have in their scales *all the Jackson fever*, inflamed and set in a blaze by the hatred to you.

I intend to see at the Supreme Court, if our friends should be there from the different parts of the State, how far they are willing to aid and how, and if they will not agree to do something as they should, never to open my mouth on politics in the State, but to retire to my family

and my library, and abandon all participation in the party contests of the State, perhaps for life.

I can see as plain as any one that I am to be counted out for a long time yet, to make way for such as can never do much for themselves, friends, or country; nevertheless I am willing to act the part of patriot, agree to be immolated myself, and assist to bring honest men in fashion. This is in great haste submitted to your *confidence*.

Yours *sincerely*,

GEORGE FORQUER.

P. S.—Our party reminds me of a game cock that had been whipt, but is still unwilling to leave the battle-ground, and won't fight, but with flopped wings keeps running round his crowing conqueror, whose stately gait and bold front procures for him the admiration of all the crowd.

It would be suicidal and Quixotic in *you* or *myself* to volunteer ourselves upon a forlorn hope, when we know so well that *our party*, the pass being opened by *our destruction*, would not even then advance with the forces in the rear. I have once tried the experiment, and am yet not afraid to fight in any way, both morally and physically, and those who have tried me know it; but I will do neither with the little fellows. I will not fight the body guards. But before I do either, the end must be worthy of the service, and there must be some well-grounded hope that thereby it can be attained. But again I say I have already *sacrificed my political life*, and I will now save my natural one for the benefit of my family, unless I can see the men, by my adherence to whom I sacrificed mine.

ready to make like sacrifices. I believe that nothing short of a fighting front by the whole party can do any good; let those then who have been best fed by the party, *one and all*, set the example, and victory is ours; otherwise universal prostration is as certain. Let *all* fight or none, *all* write or none, *all* talk or none. Pit any one man against them and victory is theirs.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

Favored by Capt. Thompson.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS.*

COLD PRAIRIE, 1st Dec., 1829.

DEAR SIR:—I have been at home about two weeks from the South. I had not time when in Belleville to converse with you. In the South we have nothing to fear. I am certain there will be no great opposition in that country. I feel under the greatest obligations to friends in that region. And let me say, once for all, that I will labor hard to pay my debt of gratitude to my country and my friends. They shall not complain of me not acting for their good and the good of the country. No place or office on earth would I change for the good-will of my friends.

I rec'd from Mr. Cowles *the writing*, which I know to be most excellent. I am under obligations for it. I tho't it advisable to change some of the expressions more into

* This letter illustrates the spirit of the canvass which was then progressing between Reynolds and Kinney.

my *lingo*. The reasoning on the subject of the public lands is demonstration itself, and shall go out *verbatim*. No man of any ordinary capacity can resist the argument. The notion in relation to the miners is new, and will destroy the little attempts of our opponent to reduce the rents. I have not concluded, if the cross canal is not a little too *digging*. Altho' the reasoning is correct about healing, yet I deemed it advisable, owing to the state of society, to palliate it a little. The same may be said about the evil measures heretofore adopted. I touched a little lighter than the original. I know not how many of these handbills ought to go out. I was thinking of 1000. If you can not go to Vandalia, please inform Mr. Cowles of your notions on this subject. I would like soon to see whom we ought to elect to the Legislature.

Your friend,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Governor N. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF EDMUND ROBERTS.*

KASKASKIA, Dec. 4, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—As I was deprived of the pleasure of calling on you, as I returned from my late tour on the canal expedition, I embrace the present opportunity, by Col.

* Herein is an early suggestion as to "making a harbor at Chicago." *Three vessels* had arrived at Chicago during the writer's short visit there, and a number of wagons had come from the head of the Wabash for salt, etc., and also from the settlements on the rapids of the Illinois. This Mr. Roberts was one of the canal commissioners at the time.

Mather, of informing you of our progress. The engineers commenced their examinations the 20th of Oct. You have probably heard that six skilful engineers are engaged —Doctor Howard and five assistants. They have ascertained that the summit height is 12 feet above the lake, and the lake is to be the first feeder, as there is not a sufficient quantity of water in the *Laplain*. One company is at work on the eastern end and one on the western. If the weather continues favorable, I expect they will complete their work by the 20th of this month, and our surveyor will, in a few days after, finish the necessary surveys to enable the commissioners to make the selection of the lands. From the examination which I have made of the lands, I am of opinion that we shall realize a handsome sum from the first sales, but this, however, is uncertain. I have written to Mr. Dunn, requesting him to go up and examine the route. Doct. Jayne will remain until the surveys are completed, when the commissioners will meet at this place, in order to make a list of the lands selected and determine on the time and place of sale, &c. It would be gratifying to me for you to meet with us in the mean time. I hope to hear from you on the subject; your views, &c. Would it not be desirable that our representatives and senators should endeavor to procure a sum sufficient to make a harbor at Chicago at the present session? Such an appropriation at *this time* would have a happy effect in the sale of our lands, and a harbor is much needed. Three vessels arrived during my short stay at Chicago. The country is settling rapidly. A number of wagons came from the head-waters of the

Wabash, for salt, &c., as also from the settlements on the rapids of Illinois. I will refer you to Col. Mather (who I expect will hand you this) for particulars.

I am, dear sir, respectfully your
obedient servant,
EDMUND ROBERTS.

His Exc'y NINIAN EDWARDS,
Governor of Illinois, Vandalia.

LETTERS OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, Dec. 8, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—A letter was received yesterday from Mr. J. B. C. Canal, requesting to be informed of the author of the letter, an extract from which was published in the *Advertiser* of the 16th ult. I have answered him that as the extract was from a private letter to me, the writer of which did not authorize its publication, I was not at liberty to give him his name; that the responsibility of the publication rested solely upon me, &c. Col. Wight, also received a letter at the same time from Mr. C., requesting him to procure the author, called on us this morning; from whom we learn that Mr. Canal suspects Judge Smith. My answer will dissipate that suspicion, as it will not be presumed that the Judge has any friendly intercourse with me. Mr. Canal charges that the whole extract are "misrepresentations". I have offered him the privilege of correcting them in the *Adv*. The same has been made to Col. Wight.

I would advise you not to write anything anonymously

which would require your name to be given up. Our opponents can and do make more out of such things than anything else. I see you have caught Kane in that way, which is a lucky circumstance.

We have not said anything yet on the Governor's election. Dr. N. is opposed to it at this time, because he thinks that Dr. P. will fly off and leave us in the lurch. He bought 32 reams of paper of Tillson and Holmes when he went below, on a credit, as he says, of 60 days, and has charged the firm with the amount. The bill is not paid, nor has it been sent up. Dr. N. and myself are much perplexed about it. If we were sure the firm are not responsible for it, we might do as we please, but to fall out with P. at this time might involve us in difficulty. I apprehend the present rage of the question below will subside during the winter, to be commenced again in the spring. I think it is not necessary to the good of the cause that we should begin now. I have had a short conversation with Judge Young since my last. I was surprised at the information he gave me of the falling off of some of Reynolds' friends, Taylor, W. B. Green, the Mitchells, &c.; but Judge Young thinks R. has the best chance.

In haste, your ob't serv't,

H. WARREN.

His Ex. Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

GALENA, Dec. 16, 1829.

DEAR SIR:—You will see by our last paper that we have "come out" on the Gubernatorial election. This is

the result of a conversation I had last week with Dr. Philleo, in which I told him that he could without any sacrifice of principle go with us on that subject, and demonstrated that it was our interest to take that course, not only on account of the character of our subscription list, but the almost certainty of Jones taking an opposite direction—all which he admitted, and observed that where *principle* was the same, one was at liberty to go for *interest*. He stipulated that the paper should be free for discussion on both sides; to which I replied that that was a matter of course—that I had never published a paper on any other principle. I really thought he was going heart and hand with us; but I was mistaken. After he had seen the editorial article in the last paper, he wrote a piece as a communication embodying all the slang that has appeared in the Vandalia paper against Reynolds, the Fields, and yourself, and supplied much more from his imagination. I had no objection to publish it, as the allegations are so notoriously false that it would do our cause more good than hurt; but Dr. Newhall would not consent that it should be published till next week, and was opposed to Dr. P. having the privilege to write on that side in the same paper, after having seen an article to be published on our side. Dr. P.'s production will appear on the first page of next Monday's paper, and answered editorially.

After we determined to open the subject of the election, I called on Judge Young and requested him to introduce it in a communication; but after deliberation he concluded it would not be prudent for him to take that course at

present. He however furnished the substance of the remarks which you see.

I understand that letters have been dispatched from this place, stating that Kinney would have an overwhelming majority here. This is not the case. The great mercantile influence, which I have heretofore informed you was opposed to the administration, will go in a body for Reynolds. This influence is personally opposed to Col. Field, and as the latter is supposed to control the Irish votes, the present appearance is that all the local parties will unite on Reynolds.

What we shall do with Philleo I do not know. I do not like the idea of having an enemy in the camp.

I hope to receive from you by next mail the true state of West's case. It is now against us, as it appears in the last Vandalia paper. Col. Wight admitted to me, while speaking of a statement he had received from Canal, that West had taken $1900 to deposit, not in Louisville, but in the U. S. Treasury at Washington. It would appear that the alarm reached West at Louisville, and that he managed to raise funds to make the deposit there. Col. Wight informed me that T. W. Smith advised W. to take the course he did. That S. wanted W. to recommend him for the Receiver's office in Edwardsville; that W. declining to do so was the occasion of their falling out. As this may be news to you, I have thought it worth while to mention it. Capt. Henry arrived here last evening from Springfield. He gives good account of our prospects in Sangamo, &c. He informs that Meredith has published the first number of a paper at that place,

though it has not arrived here; that, contrary to the expectation of Kinney's friends, it would go for R.

Your son-in-law, Mr. Lane, arrived here last night in the stage. I have had no opportunity to converse with him. Being too late with this letter for the mail, I write it to send by him. Yours truly,

H. WARREN.

I see that Hall, in the last *Intelligencer*, has attacked the proceedings of the canal commissioners, though I have but just read a few lines of the article. That Kinney is as heartily opposed to the canal now as he ever was, I have no doubt, and I think it may be brought to bear against him with good effect.

Mr. Ford is not going against us, as I have heretofore intimated to you it was probable he would. He has written nothing for Jones' paper for several weeks, and it is said they have dissolved their connexion.

It would seem from a paragraph in your letter to Mr. Dickens that you would probably call an extra session. But from Hall's accounts of the funds it appears there is no need of it. I should like it extremely well to have one called, as then, probably, the county at Chicago would be organized. I have the best opinion of that place. It does not in my view want a canal to make it, but only to put the land into market, and it will settle with greater rapidity than any other town in the State. But if you should, as you have intimated to me, move yourself to Warren County, it would be a great inducement for me to go there too. H. W.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF SIDNEY BREESE.

KASKASKIA, Dec. 24, 1829.

Governor EDWARDS,

Dear Sir:—The probability is that Mr. Hotchkiss will be appointed Postmaster at this place, *vice* Simonton, resigned, and that he will accept. Former governors of this State, Bond and Coles, have always acted on the principle, which I believe to be correct, that the acceptance of such an office under the U. States *vacates* a State app't. Should you coincide in opinion, the office of Recorder, now held by Hotchkiss, will be vacant; and I respectfully name to you Mr. Lewis Morrison of this place as a person well qualified to fill the office, and whose app't will satisfy your friends. I will write again, if H. is app't. P. M. I have no news. The Canal Com'rs have taken some steps toward the great work. Dr. Jayne is just starting, and I have only time to say, after wishing you the compliments of the season, that I am your friend and s'v't,

SIDNEY BREESE.

Governor N. EDWARDS,

Belleville.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Letter of Governor Edwards to George Graham, commissioner of general land-office; writes in regard to the selection of lands; the letter a model of perspicuity; the governor thoroughly understands the interests of the State; letter of Hooper Warren; lively times in Galena during the winter; thanks God that the winter is almost over; "balls, parties, gambling, and frolicking"; letter of Sidney Breese; desires information concerning selection of lands by the canal commissioners; letter of George Forquer; interesting inside view of men and things in Illinois at that time; has misgivings in regard to John McLean; about the approaching congressional election; McLean owes nothing to any party in Illinois; William L. May well satisfied with McLean; Kane will be hard to beat; it is said Morgan and upper counties will give Reynolds a majority for governor; Reynolds too timid, while his enemies are daring, defiant, and manly; Reynolds dreads the manly tone of the paper at Springfield that supports him; prefers that it should assume an armed neutrality; neither Reynolds nor Wilson have the germs of a statesman in them; Kane has talents and does his best for his friends.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO GEORGE GRAHAM.

BELLEVILLE, ILL., 29 Jan., 1830.

SIR:—Your letter of the 12th inst. notifying me of the President's rejection of my last selection of seven sections of land for the use of a seminary of learning in this state, and that he does not deem it expedient to select for that

purpose any lands within the limits of five miles on each side of the canal, has just been received.*

I am very sorry for this decision, because with such an extensive exclusion of land on each side of the canal, it is certain that no satisfactory location of the sections in question can be made in that quarter of the state, and at present I do not know where else they can be made. It would have been no difficult matter, a few years ago, to have made selections in the counties of Sangamon, Greene, Morgan, and Tazewell vastly more valuable than those which the President has rejected ever will be, but such has been the flood of emigration to those counties, so extensive their prairies, and so great the demand for wood land that good whole sections are hardly to be found unappropriated within any one of them. It is unfortunate that the whole thirty-six sections granted by Congress had not been located in some one of these counties, but it was supposed that the land near the contemplated canal might eventually be more valuable, and the seven sections in question, with three others, were reserved to be located in qr.-sect's, no doubt being entertained that the object to which they are to be exclusively appropriated would ensure the President's favorable consideration of any selection that might be presented to him. But for the canal the lands within its vicinity would be amongst the least valuable within the

* This is an official letter, addressed to Mr. Graham as commissioner of the general land-office. Like all the official correspondence of Governor Edwards, it is a model of perspicuity, and evincing a perfect knowledge of the subject upon which he was writing. No governor ever had a more thorough understanding of all the interests of the State than Governor Edwards, and no man could ever put his opinions and views in a better shape.

State, and I fearlessly hazard the opinion that even the most desirable parts of them will shortly be proved to have been vastly overrated by the best of all tests—a public sale. There is not, I am convinced, more than one of those sections which I selected that would command more than $1.25 per acre. As to water power and coal, they are both so abundant and extensive in that part of the State as to furnish but little inducement to locations on account of either. They had no influence with me in the selections I made. Wood and dry land, in a country that is so scarce of them both, are far more desirable.

I duly appreciate the considerations on which I presume the President has acted, though I am confident he has greatly overrated the value of the lands he has rejected. If I might be permitted to suggest a measure which would free him from all difficulty, and enable him to give entire satisfaction to the State, I would recommend the immediate surveying of a narrow tract of land bounding on the Illinois river in the county of Morgan, in the heart of our most populous settlements, which has remained to this day unsurveyed, and of course has not been disposed of, and the location of the sections in question on this tract of land. Though the expectation of the State, long cherished and acted upon, of having them located on or near to the canal would be disappointed, still the State would sustain no injury by it, and would most probably be eventually as well satisfied with the selection I propose.

It would afford me great pleasure to fulfil the President's wishes, and I should disregard all personal trouble and inconvenience in trying to do so, but if selections can

not be made that will be satisfactory to the State I would rather not encounter the responsibility of making them.

I have the honor to be,

very respectfully, Sir, yo. mo. ob't se't,

NINIAN EDWARDS.

GEO. GRAHAM,

Com's'r Gen'l Land Office.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.*

GALENA, Feb. 20th, 1830.

I avail myself of Judge Young's trip below, to write to you. This establishment, as you will see, is yet agoing; but how long it will continue, is more than I can guess. If you had your own, I would soon put an end to my agency in it. Thank God, the winter is almost over; and I hope it is the last I shall ever spend in Galena, unless I am better prepared. Since the commencement of cold weather there has been nothing here but balls, parties, gambling, and frolicking. Men who can not pay a cent of their just debts, find no difficulty in spending $20 or $30 a week in these amusements. These parties are general in this place, the exceptions but very few. I am sorry to say that my partners come in for a large share of this description.

* This letter confirms the general idea of the lively times they had in Galena during the winters—almost entirely shut out, as it was, from the rest of the world. From the close of navigation in the fall to the opening thereof in the spring, the people of Galena at that time were almost entirely isolated, and their business was practically at a stand-still. From the description of Mr. Warren, however, it is evidenced that they did not intend to die of *ennui*.

It seems that neither of the printers in this place are to have the printing of the laws of Congress, the three lower printers having rec'd the appointment. We had the benefit of Mr. Caleb Atwater's intercession in our behalf. In a letter received by last mail, he informs us of his exertions in our favor, *that he ventured to contradict a report with which he was met, that Gov. Edwards was the owner of the press here.* He further ventured to say, that we preferred Van Buren to Calhoun for next President, but all to no effect. By this you will see which way the wind sets.

Tillson & Holmes' bill for paper $152, which I have before mentioned to you, was sent to Wm. Hempstead & Co. of this place for collection, some time since, but is not paid. I understand it is against the firm, notwithstanding Dr. P. has charged us with it, as purchased and paid for by himself. We have only paper to last through the month of March. A merchant has engaged to bring us 20 reams from Cincinnati, but we shall have to pay for it before we use it.

I did not in the suggestion I made to you, some time ago, wish you not to write for the paper, &c., but that you would write in *such a manner* as not to make it necessary to give up *your* name. I should be very sorry in any contest I might be engaged, not to have the benefit of your pen.

Yours truly,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF SIDNEY BREESE.

KASKASKIA, Feb. 23d, 1830.

Governor N. EDWARDS. *Dear Sir:*—As Mr. Roberts, one of the Canal Commissioners, is on the eve of starting to N. Orleans, he has desired me to request some information of you, previous to starting, in relation to the selection of the lands by the Canal Com'rs. He wishes to know, if the selection has been approved by the Com. of the Gen'l L. office, or not. It must be, before the land can be sold. Have you rec'd anything from the Department on the subject? Mr. R. desires earnestly a line from you *by return mail.* With great respect,

Your ob't ser't,

SIDNEY BREESE.

Governor N. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.*

SPRINGFIELD, 18th March, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—I received your letter informing me of the appointment of my brother, for which evidence of your friendship for him and me accept my most sincere and grateful thanks. I wrote to him by the same mail and expressed your wish that if he accepted one, to resign the other appointment. My own opinion is that he will not accept. I infer this from a remark in one of his letters to me some time since, in which he expresses the opinion

* This letter of Mr. Forquer gives an interesting inside view of men and things in the State at the time in which it was written.

that it was well for him that he had not been appointed. It is said that his practice is very good, at least, that he does a great deal of business. I have for some time believed, that Kane, *McLean*, and Duncan were determined that *he* should not be benefited by his appointment. I hope he will resign one and refuse the other. From what I can learn, if he would agree to it, I believe he could come to the Legislature, but I shall not advise it for fear it might interfere too much with his money-making views, in the way of his practice.

The *resignation* of Thomas, the letter of Young, and the application and *recommendations of J. B. Thomas* by certain persons in preferrence to Ford surprises me not a little, that is, if the persons who were for J. B. Thomas, *Cowles and others*, saw that you preferred Ford, and believed that Ford desired it. It surprises me because J. B. Thomas is but of yesterday in the State, and never rendered by *himself or friends* either the State or party any service. He has, unless his marriage has saved him, been inclined to be against us. It surprises me because the apparent friendly feeling which some of those persons have expressed for Ford and myself, and the *evidences which we have given most of them* that *we* would under like circumstance have preferred them to a mere stranger! It surprises me because Wm. Thomas was here a short time since and never mentioned his intention to resign, and yet how Young at the mines and J. B. Thomas became acquainted with his intention in time to apply to you, I know not. It seems to me that your preference for Ford was expected, and intended to be defeated by

weighting you down with recommendations got up before Ford or his friends could know that a vacancy was to take place. I may be wrong. I hope I am. If I am not, it puzzles me to know why Ford or myself should feel any interest for the success of one party in Illinois more than an other. I have seen, I think, but too many signs that our own party in general, the politicians I mean, are inclined to *overlook*, or be against Ford and myself, except when by our daring we can serve them. I have seen the *fostering* hand of our political friends, pointing over us to others, even in a professional point of view, and not always to our superiors either. We have frequently observed these things, and remarked upon our peculiar relation to men and parties in this State. Our party upon the altar of which we have bled and smoked from our boyhood, might be called the eastern party, although we are ourselves children of the western forest. Yet the eastern influence is against us both *politically* and *professionally*, whenever they can be so without supporting a violent enemy of *our eastern party*. This leaves us then without any *patronage or support from our own party*, with all the opposition of the western party both *professionally and politically* to encounter. The head men of our eastern party who can *patronize by* their recommendation a lawyer, or whose standing gives them some political influence, have so many, between their affections for Ford or myself, that the entire withdrawal of their mutual friendship could do us no harm. On the contrary, it would perhaps relieve us from the *active* opposition *both* professionally and politically, which we

suffer on account of our *actual* support of that party. Our western people have always chided Ford and myself for our unnatural alliance with the eastern party and we have not unfrequently been told that they had *too many of their own folks* ever to be for us. It may be said that I am wrong, and that eastern men are not in possession of the offices in the State. To this I answer that they have enough of them to enable their head men, by the aid of their *western connexions* to control the party and direct its force in favor of themselves, their folks and a few western persons whose connexions are more ramified and *imposing* than ours, and that therefore Ford and myself are not such objects as will ever be likely to enlist the fostering care of the leaders of the party either *professionally or politically*, but on the contrary are just such characters as they will always *overlook*, except when they slyly wish to fortify against us. Having long known that such was the relation which we bore to the party, as such, it might seem surprising, in these days of selfish providence that we had not long since done like others, gone where we would have been considered an acquisition, and where we would have been bolstered up, and fostered both *professionally and politically*. We have however the pleasure to know, that we have been governed by principles of honesty in our course, and although we are thus indifferently treated by a party upon whose altar we have been sacrificed, we have never suffered that unkindness, to drive us from the honest convictions of our judgment. This we have done when a slight inclination from our political course would have rendered us objects who would

have been both feared and courted by those whose forgetfulness hurts us worse than all we have lost by our attachment to them. With politics I think I am done, and I hope my brother will not meddle with them. At all events if we do embark again upon the political sea, I shall ask for leave to amend the papers, and commence *de novo*. This is yet a new country and other persons than those now in it, are to exalt or keep down the aspiring, and those persons are, not in my time, to come from the east. If I should therefore ever find myself in a situation which would authorize me to follow the *natural dictate of my passions*, to embark *myself* upon the popular current, I will appeal to the fountain head, and start *de novo*. I think I shall resign next winter, unless the party should turn me out, which if *I determine to resign* I should prefer. I should then be before the people of the county and State, naked and unincumbered by any obligations. I am willing to stand back and assist my friends for nothing, but I will not consent to be *overlooked and unthought of*. This is a degree of insignificance that I shall never submit to, so long as I have energy and mind enough to prevent it; and if anything drives me into politics earlier than I now intend, it will be the too ready disposition manifested by certain friends, to forget my brother and myself in their plans.

I have mentioned McLean's name above. You may recollect that I always had my misgivings as to him. So far from having changed in this respect, I have no doubt they were well founded. I then judged by the unerring rules by which a practicable man judges of human nature.

I am now satisfied that I was right. He is against *you* and *I* especially. He is a weak man, and our enemies understand his weak place. They avail themselves of his vanity as to you, of your superiority over him, and disparage me in his estimation, by calling me your tool, and again appeal to his vanity, by representing you as dishonest and me as your dupe, and then force from him expressions disrespectful of both, which once uttered by him, he is never allowed to forget them. Were I in Kane's place I would desire no easier task than to control McLean by playing upon the weak part of his character, and I have no doubt Kane has done it, and you will see that McLean's friends will next winter go for Kane and Wilson. I think Lockwood is either at work for Wilson or himself. His friends are against you; Dr. Jayne for one I understand has said he would not vote for anybody that was for you. Pugh says he will not go for Kane, nor you, but expresses a preference for Wilson. I hope we may make a ticket against him. If Cartright would join, it might be done. To keep them from committing themselves against you, I have uniformly said, I tho't they need not be bracing themselves against you, that I did not believe you would be a candidate for the Senate. I fear that the only delegation that can be sent from Sangamon and Morgan at this time will rather be with Lockwood, and inclined against you. If we could keep Pugh out, Iles would be safe, but with P. in the H. R. he is a little dangerous, yet he is the only man that we have any chance of electing. Cartright it is tho't can not be elected this year. From what I can see, Pugh, Iles,

Elkins, and Dawson will be the delegation. Dawson is Jackson. If Cartright would only stand back and help, I think, Elkins and Todd or Flecher might be elected, or perhaps Cartright could be elected, but it is not so tho't. Dr. Todd would *I think* be right as to you, and could get some votes that Cartright could not and if C. would go into it heartily, all that he could.

Another word as to McLean. You and I can never, or at least can not be the first to find fault with him, for I have no doubt it was our exertions procured him the rather reluctant support of our friends. He answered a letter of mine in which I had reminded him of what the party who elected him expected of him, and what I tho't they had *a right* to expect, that is, the appointment of *Jackson men* who would act with the old J— men and A— men in State politics. In this letter he says he "*owes* nothing to any party in Illinois," and feels himself under no obligation to anybody. The mutual political attachment between him, Hall, and Ewing is incompatible with political or personal regard for either you or myself, or indeed almost any of the party. Besides all this he seems to be asleep. May comes home well satisfied with him, says he is not afraid of his nomination not being confirmed, although it turns, as do all the removals upon *McLean's single vote*. That McLean could defeat them all if he would. I shall say nothing, but McLean never has been for us. I now believe that Bond retired from the contest last winter in pursuance of an agreement then understood, and "that the contract has been executed as made." Kane will be hard to beat. He is now

managing well. The Administration are for him to the exclusion of McLean, or M. is promised its aid hereafter for his neutrality until they can elect Kane. These are my conjectures.

Now for Governor Reynolds. It is said here that Morgan and these upper counties will give him the majority, but I have my fears. The signs do not please me. He does not seem to me to be the kind of man to provoke the admiration of the crowd in times of heated party struggles. He is too timed, whilst his enemies are daring, defying, and manly; qualities that are always admired by the populace in proportion as they are ignorant, for their passion, and not sense governs them. The paper here has spoken in tones of defiance to Kinney's paper, and I think has made Hall and others lower their tone, and encouraged the cowardly supporters of Reynolds, but if I understand his letters to the printer here, he dreads its manly tones in his favor, and prefers, that it should assume an "armed neutrality" and sneak through the showers of slander poured upon his party by the opposition. I am therefore done until I know whether it is intended to censure the paper or not. Others may, I will not write a word more until I know what he means by his indirect advice to me in his letter to the printer. For as I have before said, it puzzles me to tell why I should *now* care for the success of one party more than the other; unless it can be *shown* that an obligation of gratitude for past favors from *the party* rests upon me; or unless it can be shown that I bear a more advantageous relation to the party than I had above supposed; so that I might calculate

on its providence if necessary, which however according to my present calculations I shall never solicit; or unless it can be shown that one set of men will be more likely to promote the interest of the people at large, among whom I intend to array myself, than the other. *None of these things can happen* from the *mere* election of *Reynolds and Wilson*, neither of whom have even the germs of a statesman in them. I beg you will excuse this careless scroll as the evidence of my *confidence* and unchanged feeling towards yourself.

Yours, &c.,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Kane has talents and does his best against us, for his friends. These qualities, although they are exerted against all my wishes and *personal* interest, recommend their possessor to me in preference to a man, who has no talents and is so cold hearted, or selfish, or cowardly, that he will neither do right nor wrong, a man of mere negative virtues. Such men never did nor never shall engage either my services or affections. G. F.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XXX.

Letter of A. P. Field; writes in regard to the misconduct of his clerk, Mr. Posey; denies showing the letters of Governor Edwards; letter of Duff Green; VanBuren desires Jackson to be a candidate for re-election; his own opinion that Jackson will not be a candidate; Calhoun will be the candidate of the South and West; "it is of great importance to defeat Kinney"; while Kinney is running for governor as the Jackson candidate, the Jackson administration is stabbing him under the fifth rib; letter of Hooper Warren; drunken printers; irregularity in issuing his paper; struggle to get a bare subsistence for his family; actually in a suffering condition; regrets not having left Galena and gone into the country to raise a crop; no political excitement in Galena; apprehensive that his landlord may distrain for rent; bill for printing-paper unpaid; letter of George Forquer; has just returned from Tazewell County; less opposition to Reynolds there than in any county he has been in; Reynolds and Kinney placed in opposition on the land question; Reynolds for the measure of Gov. Edwards; Kinney against it; some of Kane's friends preparing to make the senatorial election a question; proper to show that Kane is opposed to the land question.

LETTER OF A. P. FIELD.

LOUISVILLE, March 20th, 1830.

DEAR GOV.—Your letter in relation to the situation at my office and the conduct of my clerk, Mr. Posey, was received on the eve of my departure from Jonesboro' for this place. My health for the last four or five months has

been so very bad that my physicians all told me that it was indispensably necessary for me to travel, and at this time I think I feel some change in my health for the better, but nothing has added more to my afflictions or increased my disease than the information your letter contained in regard to the official conduct of Mr. Posey. From the manner in which he was recommended to me, I had no doubt but implicit confidence could be reposed in him. You may be satisfied, however, that the error shall be corrected as soon as it is possible for me to return to Illinois. In regard to the letter you say I should have shown to Capt. Alexander of Pope, there is certainly some mistake. I am at least unconscious of ever even mentioning to him any letter that I received from you. Another fact is, I have not been in the practice of showing your letters even to your best friends, and as it regards the course I have taken in relation to the gubernatorial contest, no letter of yours, or any other person's, had the least influence in determining my course, in fact I had taken my stand long before. I never received any letter from you on the subject of the election, but I would be glad if you would postpone your publication until you hear from me at home. I shall have a personal interview with Capt. A. on my return, and will then be able to furnish you the desired correspondence. Rest satisfied that all things are going on well in our section of the State. You will undoubtedly have all the representation from our county in your favor, and also Whiteside of Pope. Your friend,

A. P. FIELD.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq., Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.*

WASHINGTON, 27th April, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—I have waited for the departure of Doctor Lane to acknowledge the receipt of your last, in which you speak of the effect to be produced by the land question upon the next Presidential election. For many particulars I refer you to him. As to the next election, much depends upon events yet to be developed. Van Buren no doubt desires Gen. Jackson to be a candidate for re-election, under the belief that he can obtain an endorsement of the Genl's popularity. McLean believes that his position with the Methodists, his relation to the anti-masons, and the force of opposition will put him forward, and entertains strong hopes of success. My own individual opinion is that Gen. Jackson will not be a candidate, and that Mr. Calhoun will be the candidate of the South and West, and that he will also obtain the Democracy of New England. Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio are more doubtful.

I look with much interest to your local election. It is of great importance to defeat Kinney, and from the current of public sentiment I can not doubt it. As yet clouds

* Mr. Green was at fault in his prediction that General Jackson would not be a candidate for re-election. The letter is a key to the defeat of Kinney, who was then running for governor against Reynolds. Kinney was an ultra-loud-mouthed and bawling Jackson man, and he and his friends were constantly charging Reynolds and his friends with not being loyal to Jackson's administration. That all of this had no effect at Washington is very certain, for Green says, "it is of great importance to defeat Kinney." While Kinney was electioneering over the State as the Jackson candidate *par excellence*, the administration was giving him a stab under the fifth rib, and all the time desiring the election of his opponent John Reynolds. At this time there was no man nearer to General Jackson than Duff Green was.

hang over the future, but I think I can see them clearing away. Your suspicions in relation to Mr. Ingham are not well founded. He is now firm and decided. Mr. Calhoun is daily gaining in strength, and he will rally the South upon the subject of the tariff and the Western lands.

I must refer you from time to time to my paper. To your practised eyes there is no key wanting.

Your friend and relative,

D. GREEN.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, May 2, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—I have not written to you for some time, not because our affairs here did not require information to be given you respecting them, but because I wished to wait for further developments of their probable termination, before making any more communications to you on the subject.

We employed last fall for the winter, if we chose to keep him so long, a journeyman at $10 per week—a steady hand and a good workman. Shortly after, a discharged soldier arrived from St. Peters, a printer by profession, who being in distress offered to work at printing, or to labor for his board only—and he was taken into the family of Dr. Philleo as a servant, and occasionally put to work in the office. It was soon found that if he would keep sober that he would answer our purpose as a journeyman. I had previously learnt the two doctors how to set type, and with their work equal to one of them all the time, or both half

the time, I could print the paper without other help. But though they had scarcely anything else to do, they were lazy and would not work. Although I knew that the discharged soldier was addicted to hard drinking, yet for a few weeks he kept duly sober; and the doctors proposed to me to discharge the journeymen and employ him, who required nothing for his work but his board, and as much beside as we chose to give him. They promising to turn in to work whenever he should be *non compos*, and wishing to save $10 per week, I consented, and the journeyman was discharged. This was about Christmas. The new hand soon began to take his *sprees*. The doctors, however, would not work—I could sometimes get them at it for a few minutes, but the billiard and card tables had greater attractions for them. You have seen that the arrival of the paper by mail has been irregular. It has happened in this way: The new hand has been drunk about half the time during the winter, and lately nearly all the time. Anxious not to lose a publication, I kept the dates to succeed each other weekly until the latter part of March. Although the paper would be dated on Monday, it would be the next Thursday or Friday before it would be issued, and then the man getting sober would work night and day with me for eight or ten days, and in that way I was enabled to get out the 2d or 3d paper on its regular day. We have lost two numbers since the 22d of March. The present week will add another failure, for the last number (39) was not issued until Thursday evening. Our man has lately become so beastly that I have been obliged to turn him off. So that, for anything that I know, the publica-

tion must stop altogether, unless I do all the work myself —and I must confess that I have no spirit to proceed.

We commenced housekeeping in January. I had to threaten to stop working unless I could have the means of doing so, before any way was devised; and it was at last agreed that I might collect what I could at the stores for advertising, &c. At almost every place I called I found offsets for what was charged, against one of the doctors, or both, or our own firm. But by inducing some who advertised by the year to pay a little in advance, and by being the most vigilant when any advertisement was to be collected, I have succeeded to get a *bare subsistence* for my family. I rented a house containing only one small room for $4 per month, which was to be paid monthly. The fourth month is now nearly out, and I have paid nothing. I expect to be turned out unless I pay the rent soon. Between $60 and $70 of my boarding bill last summer at Goss's remains unpaid. The opening of navigation has added nothing to our business—indeed our paper has lost in the confidence of the public.

I was apprehensive of this state of things during the latter part of the winter, and I thought of securing to myself a living for the present year by going into the country and raising a crop this summer; but my duty to you not only prompted, but my pride was enlisted to keep up this publication as long as possible. It is now too late to have that recourse.

I regret, most sincerely, having induced you, last spring, to make a further advance on this establishment. It was, however, with the strongest conviction that it would ulti-

mately prove to your advantage in the sale of the whole. I will endeavor never again to mislead my own or your judgment in such a case.

May 29, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—When I had written the foregoing thus far, Cooper, our journeyman, having become tolerably sober, applied to be reinstated in this office, which was readily done. Our stock of paper was exhausted on the 8th of April. Since that time we have depended on what we could pick up in town; the commission merchant who engaged to supply us has quit business here. There is no paper now in town to be bought, but that is nothing to our present case. Dr. Philleo has done nothing for the office for several months except to board the journeyman. Dr. Newhall has purchased all the paper we have used since the 5th of April, by collecting money due us; but for our last number (42) he was four days after it was wanted in raising $5 to pay for it. None has been sent for to St. Louis, and although it is not so avowed in terms, I believe that no further attempt will be made to get any. As to Dr. Newhall, I believe it is not in his power—but as to Philleo, I believe he would rather embarrass than facilitate our prospects at present.

I will now give you a glimpse of my own situation. For the last four or five weeks my family has been in an *actually suffering condition.* As I have before stated, I have been left to depend on what I could collect, and that I found offsets at almost every place where I presented an account. My wife, who has done all the work of the house, including washing and sewing, has been sick for the

last three weeks, occasioned by over doing. What has aggravated her case is, I have had nothing in the house to eat except salted meat and bread, and not a picayune to purchase a delicate article of food suitable for a sick person. She is now reduced to a skeleton, is not all the time confined to her bed, but has no more strength than an infant. Since her sickness commenced we have had a small black girl in the house, eight or ten years old. During the time, too, I have been required to leave the house I was living in, which I have done, and taken another on the same terms, but farther out of town. Of the articles above mentioned, I have a supply only for a few days longer, and *how* I am to get any more I know not. You will thus see, that even if we had paper to go on with our business, it would be my paramount duty to quit it, provided I could get any other employment that would afford me the means of living. I have now nothing to do but to regret not having left this place and gone into the country in season to raise a crop. If I must be so poor as to want the necessaries of life, I would rather be in the country.

Since writing the above, the mail of this evening brought your letter of the 19th inst. The steamboat *Missouri* arrived this morning, and brought the ream of medium paper mentioned by you. The last *Illinois Intelligencer* does not contain the addresses to which you refer. I take it that your view was to have them republished in our paper, and then some copies struck off in hand-bills. The latter could yet be done. But with my present impressions, it would be hardly expedient, unless you wished to circulate them in other parts of the State besides this. There is no

political excitement here. I must write to you again on this subject, perhaps next week, by which time I can probably determine what is to become of me here. I had commenced setting up the old type out of their cases, in order for moving the office, if that course should be determined upon. It would take me two or three weeks to set up all the types, new and old, in order for moving. It has not been done heretofore on such occasions, but their safety requires it, either for moving or storage. I think, to effect a sale of them, you would do better to have them stored here, than sent down the river. A press will be wanted in Huron. Nor will this place remain long without the establishment of this, or some other efficient paper.

Mr. Rule is here, pressing payment of his rent. Nearly 12 months is due, amounting to $120. I was apprehensive that he might attempt to distrain for it, and thought of moving the materials out of his building before he could get hold of them. In a conversation with him, however, I did not infer that he intended to take that course. Tillson & Holmes' bill for paper ($152) likewise is not paid.

Yours truly,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 14, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Inclosed is the note on Ewing and Berry. I have just returned from Tazewell. There seems to be less opposition to Reynolds there than in any county I

have been in. Some say three to one, others five to one, and some nine out of ten for Reynolds. Ewing will be voted for generally in that county. You will see that by our paper of this week that Reynolds and Kinney are placed in opposition to each other on the land question, Reynolds for your measure, and Kinney adverse to it. I intend to keep this matter before the people, as well as the canal, and *if possible* to make these two interests swallow up all minor ones. I have not been able to find Pettis' speech. Can you send it to me? Some of Kane's friends here are preparing to make the senatorial election a question. When they shall openly have done so, it will be proper in my opinion to show that Kane is opposed to the land question, and I do not see how that is to be done without coupling him with Duncan and making the charge against both. The charge may the easier be proved against both, if each is to be held responsible for the other, which I think is the true ground, because each supports the other, and must therefore be considered as approving his course. Were *I* to do this, I fear that even my friends would throw cold water on it, because Duncan beat me.

Yours, &c.,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Letter of Governor Edwards to the people of Illinois; repels the attacks made upon him by Elias Kent Kane; his previous triumph over combined power of Kane and Kinney's party; refers to his administration of State affairs and the reforms he has accomplished; all his promises carried out; invites Kane to decline being a candidate for the U. S. senate, and he will try titles with him as a candidate for Congress; would rather "fall nobly than rise meanly"; his efforts to free the State from the aggressive misrule of the bank party; ridiculous effusions of Kinney; no writer, but "stiff as steel-yards"; has money enough to buy other people to write for him; the intense hostility of the bank party to him; to antagonize the party was like poking one's head into a hornet's nest; defies his enemies to show a case when he has ever acted against the interest of the people; thinks he can render greater service in the State than out of it.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO THE PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS.

BELLEVILLE, 21 May, 1830.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS:

Fellow-Citizens:—I deeply regret that the Hon. Elias K. Kane, to whom I had given no kind of provocation, and whom, ever since he has filled his present elevated station, I have endeavored to treat with all the politeness and respect that is so justly due him, should, in an anonymous publication, and in a style of the most vindictive invective, have taken the lead in those attacks upon me, which were referred to in my last address to you.

Though he regards it as but "*a possibility*" that my "vanity," which he represents as "the most conspicuous trait in my character," and of which it is very probable I have a good deal too much, might inspire me with a hope of *rising* to a competition with *him* for a seat in the Senate of the U. S., he presents me before you *as so fallen, so unpopular, so little to be dreaded, so much an object of "charity,"* that it is wonderful his magnanimity had not induced him to spare me.

Taking *his hint*, however, of this *possible* consequence of my "vanity," the writers who have followed *his lead* ever since last October, and of whom I have hitherto taken no notice, have labored so incessantly to enlist your prejudices against me, and his friends have taken so much pains to bring out and commit candidates for the Legislature in his favor, that one can hardly credit their *sincerity* in professing to consider me *such a poor old broken down politician* as they would persuade you to think me.

What right have they to regard my popularity as reduced to so low an ebb? Do they infer it from my last trial of strength with them? You well know that, four years ago, the combined power of Messrs. Kane and Kinney's party, of the Bank party, and of the Circuit Court party, aided by the co-operation of some of the most powerful men and purest patriots of the state, who then took an erroneous view of my conduct, but are now amongst my warmest friends, was all brought to bear upon me. Against this powerful host I had to contend almost, if not entirely, single handed. For, deploring the ruinous policy that had prevailed, and the enormous taxes with

which you were oppressed in consequence thereof, I determined, regardless of personal consequence, to endeavor to produce reform, and neither consulting nor soliciting the aid of any individual, I took such bold grounds in all my addresses to you as the politicians, those most friendly disposed towards me, almost universally, thought too hazardous to be interfered with, and yet, by your favor, which I shall remember with gratitude to the latest period of my life, I succeeded, though my political friends were generally defeated at the same election, and a large majority opposed to them and myself were returned to the Legislature.

Am I less popular now than I was at that time? Judging from the friendly and cordial feelings manifested towards me by the last Legislature, which has given more general satisfaction, and did more for your interests than all others which had preceded it; from the unanimous invitation of the House of Representatives to take a seat within their bar, which had been refused to my predecessor; from letters which I receive from every part of the State; from the kind and affectionate treatment I meet with from my fellow-citizens whenever I go among them; and from the undoubted fact that many who then opposed me are now my friends and supporters, I should think I never stood better with the people of the State generally than at the present time.

This, however, Mr. Kane may regard as a proof of my "vanity," and it may be so. But why should I not stand well with you? *What have I done* to forfeit the confidence with which you honored me so highly in 1826? Many of

you, at that time, could scarcely credit the representations I made of the ruinous manner in which our affairs had been managed, and there were not a few of you who confidently predicted that, should I be elected, nothing more would be heard about them. But you have long since been convinced that all I told you was true. You have seen that I did not fail to press those truths upon the Legislature; that I went for reform as energetically after as before my election; and that I have done and performed all and everything which I authorized you to expect. You have seen the principles for which I contended carried into practical operation, by your faithful representatives in the last Legislature. Their results afford a striking contrast with a system of measures which had been previously adopted and pursued, through the influence of a party who were as regardless of your interest as they are intent upon depriving me of your good opinion. And which measures have, for a long time, subjected you to the payment of precisely as much tax, upon a hundred dollars worth of property, *in one year*, as you would have to pay in Kentucky, an adjoining state where taxes are receivable in the same kind of currency, *in eight years*.

In the year previous to my election, creditors' warrants which the State was bound to redeem with gold and silver, to the amount of upwards of $107,000, were issued and paid out at three dollars for one, whereby the State sustained a clear loss, *in one single year*, of more than $70,000, a sum fully sufficient to have carried on all its necessary operations for *three years*. And this policy the people of Sangamo county heard advocated by my competitor,

whose friends had originated it, in a public speech at Springfield. Suppose, then, that he instead of myself had been elected, and such measures continued, what would have been the situation of the State by this time?

Let us now see what have been the results of the measures which I have supported. The taxes on lands of residents of the counties in which they lie have been given up to those counties; the state is not losing a cent by its financial operations; and your taxes may be safely reduced to one-third of their present amount, at the next session of the Legislature. And all this has been effected without the aid of any resources which were not within the power of the state previous to the commencement of my administration. Why, then, should I be held up to you as an enemy to your rights and interest, against whose machinations you have no other way of shielding yourselves but by the election of Messrs. Kinney and Kane?

Great as Mr. Kane may consider my "vanity," it is not so misleading but that I can duly appreciate the difficulties I might have to encounter in a contest for a seat in the Senate of the U. S. I am too well apprized of the extent and *power* of a combination of politicians, whom a desire to put me down *for the sake of making more room for themselves*, and the offences I have given, by my efforts for reform in our state affairs, have rallied against me. The schemes which they have long since had in operation, the committals that have already taken place, the plans formed for effecting others, and the facility with which it is to be expected that candidates may be induced to commit themselves on one side, when it is not at all required

by the other, are fully sufficient to make me think *very humbly* of any chance I might have of success. And, indeed, if my "vanity has ever *whispered* to me the *possibility* of rising" as Mr. Kane supposes, it has never inspired me with very presumptuous calculations of being able to effect it, even under more auspicious circumstances, in elections of that kind. For, though no man is less apt to forget his friends, it has never been my habit, and never shall be, to enter into bargains, or make individual promises, during the pendency of an election. And if my enemies say otherwise, I will thank them to point out a single instance in which I have ever done so.

If, however, Mr. Kane is willing to practice the principles of rotation in office, which used to be so strongly pressed by his party against Mr. Cook and myself, and which have now become the popular doctrine of the day, and will give way to some one of his friends for the Senate, and declare himself a candidate for the House of Representatives, the disparaging manner in which he has written of me, under the signature of "W," will, I hope, excuse me for saying that, whatever the sacrifice, I will not shrink from a competition with him.

Experience has taught me that the people are ever disposed to do any man even more than justice who has proved *by his acts* that he deserves to be considered their real friend. And having, in a long course of public service of more than thirty years, honestly and faithfully endeavored to acquire that character, and knowing that my enemies can not show a single act by which I have forfeited it, I have, indeed, the "vanity" to believe that I have as

little to fear from the people as any other man. I will go further. Having always relied upon such grounds for success, and never been defeated in an election *by the people* in my life, I have "vanity" enough (and I might as well confess it, since Mr. Kane will have it that, that is "the most conspicuous trait in my character") to believe that neither he nor any man of his party *can* beat me in an election by the people.

But should I ever become Mr. Kane's competitor I will not follow his example, by abusing him, as he has done me. And I doubt very much indeed whether any of you can be led to believe that this is either the most honorable or judicious means of success, in a virtuous, high-minded, and enlightened community. Independent of all other considerations, I should really think it no *credit* to beat *such a piteous, fallen, friendless old man* as he represents me to be. I will not, therefore, attempt to pluck a feather from his cap, but, without questioning the fidelity with which he has served you in his present station, will most cheerfully admit that his talents and standing entitle him to the most respectful treatment. The very "vanity" which he imputes to me prevents me from thinking *so poorly* of myself, as to feel it necessary to rest *my* hopes of success upon the prostration of any man. And if I can not rise but by such means, I will remain in "the imprisonment for life" to which his fancy has consigned me. For I would far rather fall nobly than rise meanly.

Differing, however, as we do, and I hope with equal honesty, in regard to the right of the state to the public lands within its limits, and this being a subject which I

can not give up, and from the support of which, with the best of my poor abilities, I would not be deterred by a combination more powerful, and odds even greater than I had to encounter in my efforts to free the state from the oppressive misrule of the Bank party and their political associates, it may so happen that I shall be, necessarily, compelled to combat his opinions in defending my own. But should this ever be the case, he may rest assured that I shall not offend against the good taste and honorable sentiments of the community by questioning his motives, or failing to treat both himself and his arguments with the most profound respect. If there be any advantages in a different course he is entirely welcome to the whole of them.

Judging from his remarks in the Senate of the U. S., it would seem that he is of the opinion that the state would recoil from the assertion of its right to the public lands "in any way," or for any purpose, and doubtless supposes he has the popular side of the question. This may be so. But it is enough for me to believe that I have the right side. And of this so strong are my convictions that, but for the danger of receiving another unmerciful castigation from him for my "vanity," I would say I should not be afraid, or ashamed, to argue my side of the question in either House of Congress, or anywhere else.

And now, fellow-citizens, though a candidate for nothing —but your good will and approbation, yet prizing these more highly than all the honors and emoluments of office without them, and knowing that I have tried to merit them, I could but esteem their loss (through the machina-

tions of a club of politicians, who are much more anxious for my political destruction, *to get me out of their own way*, than to advance any interest of yours) a misfortune, and a mortification, for which any office the Legislature could confer upon me would be but a poor equivalent. Gratifying as it may be to some men's pride to be calld "His Excellency," "The Honorable, &c.," there is no distinction which office can confer that I have ever coveted as much, or tried as hard to acquire, as that of being justly considered "the people's friend" and "the people's man." In this I have hitherto been successful, as I freely confess, much beyond my poor deserts. How long I may be able to maintain this standing, however, depends much more upon you than myself. For so numerous and talented are my assailants, so well concerted their plan of operations, so judiciously distributed the parts which each has to act, and so harmonious their concert of action, that nothing but your good feelings, and sense of justice, could save me from the political annihilation which they deem so essential to the accomplishment of their own selfish and ambitious views.

You have seen how Mr. Kane opened his batteries upon me, how quick *his hint* was taken, how constantly *his lead* has been followed, how diligently certain individuals have been riding through the state to marshal their forces and set their minor agents to work, and with what zeal and uniformity they have all, from the highest in their ranks down to their humblest grocery agents, labored to render me odious to you. Mr. Kinney, it is true, is no writer, but then, being "as stiff as steelyards," he has money to pay

other people to write for him, and strength enough of his own to pack hand-bills through the country, and hence you have seen "Sam Patch's Jumps," "Sam Patch's Eye-water," "Cronicles" after "Cronicles," and other equally ridiculous effusions (which he had not the sagacity to discover could do him no good with a sensible community) spread over the State almost as thick as the frogs and locusts of Egypt, not forgetting, occasionally, to leave large heaps of them in certain land offices, the incumbents of which have *no particular partiality for my views concerning the public lands.*

During all this time I had not myself, till the 14th inst., nor has any other person, written a word in my favor, that I recollect, and so unusual is it for me to receive the aid of politicians that I should scarcely have forgotten it had it occurred.

This would not have been tolerated for one moment by these persecutors of me, and dictators to you, who think you have not sense enough to judge for yourselves, and therefore, *out of pure love to you*, have undertaken to manage your affairs, and assign to you such parts as they consider you fit to act. You will soon see how unmercifully I shall be bespattered with their filth for what I have now written, for they would deny to me even the poor privilege of self-defence.

In this unequal contest, few of you, I trust, will be disposed, *without good cause*, to unite with such a host of assailants for the destruction of a *gray-headed old man*, left almost alone to defend himself against their united power. It is to be hoped that good, honest men, whom I have

never injured, or personally offended, will feel how *degrading* it would be to themselves, how *servile* it must appear to others, to become my enemies, and raise a "hue and cry" against me *merely* because *Mr. Kane* and *Mr. Kinney* and *their partizans tell* them to do so. Were you to see a great number of individuals falling, with their united strength, upon *an old man* who had done you some good, and no harm, *to beat his body*, your generous and manly souls would revolt at the thought of joining to kick and cuff him yourselves. It would be still more ignoble to join them *in mangling and destroying his reputation*, infinitely more important than his *frail, perishing body*, which must soon return to the dust from whence it came. Is it to your interest thus to unite against me? You know perfectly well that, when I commenced my efforts for reform in our State affairs, it was like poking one's head into a hornet's nest to say a word against the policy of the Bank party and their political associates, who were then dominant, and had, for years before, ruled the State with uncontrolled sway. Are you quite sure that any other man in the State would have undertaken this perilous task, under the same circumstances? And have you not received some benefit from my exertions? If, then, you are to join in immolating me to the vengeance I have provoked by trying to serve you, what encouragement will others hereafter have to encounter similar risks?

Is it enough that my enemies, unable to point out a single instance in which I have ever proved unfaithful to you, should be constantly telling you—not of what bad things *I have done* against your interest, but of what they

choose to assume, or pretend to believe, I am going to do? With this mode of attack upon me you have long been familiar, but you have never yet seen even one of those malevolent predictions fulfilled. If any one thinks otherwise let the case be named, I am ready to meet it. It is said the "tree should be judged by its fruit." If this be true, you have had ample opportunity of testing my fidelity. I was your Governor during the whole period of our Territorial Government; six years I served you in the Senate of the U. S., and have been almost four years in my present office. It is not to be doubted that, in such a long course of service, I may have committed many errors, but I now invite my persecutors, as I have often done heretofore, to descend to particulars, and point out *one case* at least, in which I have ever *acted against, or postponed your interest to my own.* If they can not do this, or will not do it, under their own proper names, it is unreasonable to expect you to join in persecuting me, *merely* because it would be *a convenience* to them to get me *out of their own way.*

Infinitely prefering a private station, with your good will and approbation, to a seat in the Senate of the U. S., or any other office without them, I will only add that, from the divisions among ourselves in regard to the right of the State to the public lands within its limits, I strongly incline to the opinion that I can render you greater services in the State than out of it, that I should be fully as well pleased to undertake the former as the latter, and that, in either case, I shall go for a surrender of those lands to the State upon equitable terms, and for the lowest

possible reduction of price, and the granting of donations to actual settlers, till they shall be surrendered, or the State may think proper to assert its right to them.

NINIAN EDWARDS.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Letter of George Forquer; speculations as to the course of political policy that should be pursued; considers contest between Reynolds and Kinney for governor already decided; Kinney will beat Reynolds as far as Duncan beat him; both sides deceived as to their strength; Wilson, Lockwood, Browne, Smith, Mather, and their satellites must be compelled to fight shoulder to shoulder, or all sink or all swim; advice as to the course to be pursued on the land question; serious thoughts of addressing the people on that subject, but his pecuniary situation admonishes him to cramp his political energies; sometimes tempted to form the nucleus of a party of his own; letter of Hooper Warren; embarrassments of the "Galena Advertiser"; Mr. Marsh, Judge Reynolds, Dr. Newhall, Dr. Philleo; Cooper, the journeyman-printer, goes to St. Louis; speech of Mr. Pettis; probable organization of Warren and McDonough counties; death of Col. Abner Field; $36,000 of auditor's warrants said to be found in his possession; J. W. Stephenson appointed clerk in Field's place; he would have been defeated as a candidate for the legislature; James A. Clark announced as a candidate in his place; letter of George Forquer; writes about his address to the people and on canal question; Kinney quite enough for us at one time; "Kane and him will be at once against you and Reynolds"; about Gov. Edwards being a candidate for the senate; the confusion that will result from a certain course of action; officers and soldiers taken by surprise; "a few gallant souls out upon a forlorn hope, among whom please number yours, sincerely, George Forquer"; another letter from George Forquer; now the time to come forward and defend yourself; J. M. Duncan's infamous handbill; tells Reynolds that he must fight the battle more bravely; a coal put on Lockwood's back; "we must make Wilson, Lockwood, and their friends

fight with us"; "shall publish Hall a base liar and a hired puppy"; letter of Hooper Warren; sends for ten reams of paper and only one ream comes; printing-office idle; distress for rent; Dr. Philleo at the bottom of it; clear case of biter bit; prospects brightening; finds means "to get a new barrel of flour"; gets his cow up from Springfield; letter of George Forquer; "three men in our party who have some courage"; should be backed up by echoing the warwhoop throughout the State; the papers should cry out in tones of defiance; "stun the other side and strike terror to their hearts."

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.

SPRINGFIELD, May 27, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter was not handed me till last night. I have read it carefully and with deep interest. The pieces signed "Red Gauntlet" I have seen, and although the talking Kinney men here are as much dependent upon the *Intelligencer* for ideas as in any other part of the State, I never heard of "Red Gauntlet" being named or anything therein being used by the talkers. With the most sincere deference to your superior judgment and experience, I fear you will take your friends by surprise. Generally, their plan of action has been to keep you out of sight in the contest until after the August elections were over, but at the same time to have an eye to the probability of your being before the Legislature, and to conduct the election with that object under cover. Will not your course so change the plan of action that it will place your friends under the necessity of *countermarching* in *open view* of the enemy? If so, the evolution should not have been attempted. The gen'l should never

forget that his subalterns, according to their rank, have as much pride of character as himself; and if he expects them to be gallant in storming the strong places of the enemy, he should at least flatter them by holding a council of war before undertaking the enterprise. He should encourage in them a high-toned self-pride, and should never require of them any service which would humiliate them in their own or the enemy's opinion. If he does, his orders will be executed in so cold and mutinous a spirit that defeat is almost inevitable.

I fear that the contest for governor between *Kinney and Reynolds is* now over, and that it is henceforward to be one between Kane, Kinney, *Duncan*, and yourself. Reynolds will no longer figure in the contest. Those three gentlemen will be thrown in one scale, and yourself in the other. Duncan will do for a weight, and *they will have him arrayed against you* before the contest is over. This is what they have been endeavoring to provoke.

I will do all I can to sustain *you*, but as for other matters, I now say to you, what I will not lisp to any mortal, that I believe Kinney will beat Reynolds as far as Duncan did me. It is the same parties, with very little difference. This opinion I have *all along*, you know, *entertained*. Both sides are at this time deceived. We are weaker than we think for, and they are stronger than they think for. If our party, as at present organized, had been represented at Vandalia, and there openly taken a stand and appealed to the people, as I wanted to do, then we would have made *all hands fight*. *Wilson* and his satellites, *Lockwood* and his, *Browne* and his, Smith and his, and

Mather and his would have been compelled to go with us shoulder to shoulder, and all sink or all swim; but now they will each seek his individual interest, and if this can be done best by sinking each other, that will be done. I have before written you my opinion of the best plan of action, and have stated the danger that either you or myself would be in by engaging in the contest over our own names, unless the party was previously committed to back us by some overt act of the men named. The great men of the party would be willing at any time to see you out of their way, and the smaller great men would be glad to see me in the same fix. Had I not been so sensible of the relation which I bear to my own party, I should long since have appealed to the people in defence of my humble fame. The manner in which Reynolds is handled for voting for me, leaves the inference to be drawn by those ignorant of my character that there is something in it at war with honest fame.

June 3d, 1830.

Since the above was written, the Vandalia paper has been received, and nothing from you appears in it. I hope you have seen cause to change your mind. But I fear that Hall has abused you by keeping your communication back one week for the purpose of letting J. M. D. write the Carlyle letter, in anticipation of your communication. I think your friends had better write for you, or rather that you had better write through them. I have suggested this to Cowles in a letter by this mail. I also differ with you in the propriety of your appearing before the people yourself as the advocate of the land question.

This I think should be done by the party, and have written by this mail 12 letters, requesting our friends to start it. If we can once get the question to take, we can at once make it elect your friends everywhere, better without your name being used than if it were.

This paper will keep that subject before the people every week, and I am not; but it may yet be proper to make it a question in our county elections. If I can, by a few essays, get the public mind awakened, I have serious tho'ts of addressing the people of these counties in public meetings, to be called for that purpose. This I would assuredly do, did not my pecuniary situation admonish me to cramp my political energies until I shall have better provided for my family. At present I am mainly dependent upon the opposite side in politics for professional patronage, for throughout the whole circuit there are lawyers who stand nearer the hearts of our friends than I do. In Greene, Caverly; in Morgan, Thomas; and here, Pugh and Stuart. My salary is a sufficient excuse for my friends to direct to the others. My relation to the party in this respect I have before communicated to you. Notwithstanding, however, all these prudential cautions, I sometimes feel strongly tempted to throw myself before the people as the advocate of measures (not as a candidate), and at least form the nucleus of a party of my own. I would be certain to have some adherents, enough to give tone to the northwest part of the State. You will see the *Courier* of tomorrow. Y'rs,

GEO. FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, June 6th, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—From my letter to you by last mail, you would conclude that the *Galena Advertiser* would be issued no longer under its present organization. Since that time Mr. March has kindly offered to purchase and send us 10 reams to complete the year. I understood from Dr. Newhall, who made the arrangement, that it is Mr. March's intention to purchase the paper, and then call on Judge Reynolds, yourself, and other friends for a contribution. I protested to Dr. N. against your being called upon for that purpose, and gave him my reasons. He requested me to speak to Mr. M. myself on the subject, but I did not see him until the boat had cast off. Should he come to you, I wish you to tell him it is my wish for him to send his bill to his agent in this place for collection, with instructions to have it sued if not paid in a reasonable time. I do not know exactly what effect this would have. Philleo has a house and lot here with the right of pre-emption, worth four or five hundred dollars. He owns also several tracts of Bounty land. If taken in time it might be made out of him.

Cooper, our journeyman, thinking there was nothing more for him to do, had taken passage and gone on board a steam-boat for St. Louis. He would not stop, upon request, but promised to come back in the same boat with the paper. Whether he will do so, is extremely doubtful, as he was not sober when he made this promise.

You will thus see there is some probability of the paper being continued to the end of the year, at the end of

which time, should no purchaser come forward, it must stop. I have accordingly been hunting over our old papers for Mr. Pettis' speech, and have succeeded only in finding the *conclusion* of it, as published in the *Beacon*. We receive no Washington paper but the *Nat. Journal*. I shall look further to find the *commencement* of it; and if successful will make all necessary extracts from the whole.

The Vandalia paper received last evening, does not contain the addresses you speak of. It would seem however, that they have received the manuscript, or heard of it some other way, and are prodigiously alarmed.

There being 10 numbers wanted to complete our year's publication, should it go on without interruption after the arrival of paper, it will be near September when finished. In this time the subject of the public lands may be fully presented to the people.

Judge Young left here last Friday on his Circuit. I had a moment's conversation with him before he started, and asked him if he thought the friends of the Administration here felt sufficient interest in a paper to bring out and support a printer, and take this establishment? He had no time to hold consultations on the subject, but said he would do so on his return. He said that two counties, Warren and McDonough, would probably be organized on the Bounty Tract this summer; but he thought it would be best for me to select one of the counties on the canal. I think so too.

Col. Field died in this place on the first inst. It is said that $36,000 in Auditor's warrants were found in his possession. J. W. Stephenson has been appointed

clerk in his place; it is well for him, for he surely would have been defeated in his election to the Legislature. James A. Clark, a young lawyer from Boon's Lick, is announced as a candidate in his place. But I think Joel Wright will still have a majority in this county.

I am, yours truly,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTERS OF GEORGE FORQUER.

SPRINGFIELD, 10th June, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Yours to the people, and on the canal has been received. The latter will appear this week, and the former next week unless countermanded by you. Reynolds was here on the 8th and 9th from Vandalia where he had heard from B. all about your communications. I stated that I received your com'n for this paper, and all present, Dr. Todd and others, tho't that it was of the highest importance to delay its publication for one week at least by which time you could be heard from. This short delay it was argued could do you no injury, and I was requested to write to you and state what was the opinion of your friends here in relation to the bearing which your communications would have upon the election. What I wrote to you before merely as my opinion I find would be more than realized. Every man here when pushed for his real sentiments believes that Kinney is quite enough for us at one time. All agree that Kane

and him at once against you and Reynolds and we are gone. This delay of a week, in publishing yours to the people, has been the result of the wish of several of your sincere personal and political friends. I was pressed to go to Belleville on purpose to see you.

I shall be absent at the Schuyler court after to-morrow until this day week, and will not be here on next Monday when the southern mail arrives. If nothing is heard from you by that mail your com'n will appear and I will do what I can, but I assure you there are a majority of voices here against blending your fate with the present contest and persons too who would be for you after the contest is over. They say that they have always said you would not be a *candidate* for the Senate, and that now to bring you and Mr. Kane in conflict would be virtually declaring you a candidate, and they would have to "eat," said one, "our own words, or go against him." With feelings of the most sincere friendship, I am bound to say to you what I see will be the consequence of blending your name with the election unless you have managed to present yourself so as to really seem to be disconnected with the election, which I consider an impossibility. The confusion which I fear will be made in our ranks will enable the enemy to make complete slaughter of us all. This need not have been the case, if the army had been prepared for battle, but both officers and soldiers are taken by surprise, and some will be panic struck, some desert to the enemy for safety, some stand still and be slaughtered, and others desert the field,

leaving a few gallant souls out upon a forlorn hope, among whom please number, Yours sincerely,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

SPRINGFIELD, June 17th, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—I have just arrived at sundown from Bashville, and have but just time to read you com'r and letters, and to say a word or two. Had I time I would say much. Suffice it to say that I think you ought *now* to come forward and defend *yourself*. I think the temper of your com'n happy and well calculated to take. All I fear is that it is a little too long. As it has turned out, I think it is fortunate in the highest degree that you have been induced to detain it until J. M. Duncan's infamous hand-bill has appeared. You can now truly say that you are forced into the contest. You should state how the Duncans used to be your creatures, and that you gave them bread in their need. I am glad to see that you do think as I do about our mean and cowardly party. We will be whipt to death, but I mean to die in the last ditch. I am, as I have always been, true, but my motive in writing to you was to inform you that all our friends were not so, and that there was danger. Now, however, your friends will take the track and back you. Reynolds was at Schuyler when Duncan's hand-bill came. Turney and R. made speeches. D.'s hand-bill was destroyed there. I told Reynolds he must fight the battle more bravely, or he would be an object of contempt deservedly; and he has

agreed to publish a hand-bill, written by Ford and myself for him. I think you will approve of the manner in which your name is used. We have made him put a coal on Lockwood's back, and if you should put another by stating, which I believe is the truth, that *Wilson*, *Lockwood*, and all the names of those who recommended the Fields, Duncan, and party proves corruption in *you*, because you appointed these men. Lockwood made Abner clerk, and Wilson recommended him, and I believe Jo. Duncan did. Make all these men bear their share of the load; the facts you can get. We will force Lockwood to justify himself to *the people*. We must make Wilson and Lockwood and their friends fight with us. They shall not be indifferent any longer, and hold themselves like Pope, ready to dine with our enemies whilst our slain carcasses are yet bleeding. Embroil every man of them in the contest. Reynolds will call upon some twenty men to come on. Ford is here. We are going to Vandalia tomorrow or next day to attend the court, to get the evidence to prove Hall a *liar*, and to call him such in a hand-bill I intend to publish to the people. Be not afraid of my heat. I will write a good one for effect, but I shall publish Hall a base liar and a *hired* puppy to the world. He will be driven to the wall. I want Breese and Cowles to be there. I wish you not to say that we are going to Vandalia; we want to take them by surprise, and if it is known in Belleville it will be known in Vandalia. Reynolds now expects you to come out, and so does everybody. Could you write without attacking Kane, would it not be better? If you can whip his forces by killing off his generals, is it

not the safest way to whip him too? Fix it so as to force him to attack as Duncan has done. They intend to have him in the scales. Give him no excuse to say he has been *dragged* into it. *They* will drag him in. You know best.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, June 27, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—My last letter informed you of the promise of Mr. March to purchase in St. Louis, and forward to us at this place, ten reams of paper, in order to enable us to complete the year of our publication. The boat in which he went down returned with *one* ream only, the reason of which I am unacquainted. Cooper, too, our journeyman, such as he was, went down to St. Louis, promising to return in the same boat, but has not done so in that or any other. For the last twenty days my wife has been confined to her bed by sickness, and as it was impossible to procure a nurse or other help, I have had to stay in the house constantly. She is now mending and in a fair way of getting well. You will thus see that the printing-office has been idle. And though I can myself attend to it in future, I do not think it expedient to renew the publication for *one week only*. I had set up five columns of extracts from Mr. Pettis' speech during the week. I was expecting the arrival of the ten reams of paper and

Cooper's return. I showed your address to Mr. Mills, who proposed to hand it to Mr. Jones for insertion in the *Miners' Journal*, which was done, not however without some unnecessary remarks from the editor. It appears that Jones will not copy your address from the *Crisis*, as it arrived the mail before last, and it did not appear in his paper yesterday. The Vandalia paper has taken a course it never dared to do before. It remains to be seen whether the community will bear them out in it.

During the time Mr. Rule was here, I inquired of Mr. Wm. Smith, a lawyer, if a distress for rent could be resorted to in this State, to which he answered that such a writ was recognized in our Statute, but that no regulations respecting it were made. I therefore concluded that it would be subject to the same rules as other writs respecting the trial of the right of property. On Friday last I was informed by Dr. Newhall that a writ to distrain the printing materials was made out at Mr. Meeker's office. I immediately went to Mr. Mills, the attorney of Scott and Rule, and represented the case to him. He admitted my construction of the law as to the right of contesting the right of property, and said that for my sake and for yourself, from whom he had received many benefits, he would release the printing materials from the operation of the writ, although it was contrary to his instructions. From general incidents in this affair, I am persuaded that Dr. Philleo is at the bottom of it, and that it was arranged by him with Mr. Rule, before the latter went home. But I have had the good fortune to defeat his project. Mr. Mills did go to the magistrate, and so

altered the writ as to release the printing materials. Dr. Newhall had previously removed *his* books to get them out of the way of an execution against him, and nothing remained but their medicine bottles, &c., and Dr. P.'s library, the latter of which only was levied on, as it was supposed to be sufficient to cover the amount, $60. This amount is for the last six months' rent; for the first half-year, Scott & Rule have our joint note for $60, which, I expect, will be sued immediately. Mills advised Rule when here that, having taken our note, he had lost his remedy by distress. Hence the waiting till after the 20th inst., the date of the lease. Mills then called on Philleo for the rent, and told him what his instructions were. P. told him to take the printing materials, as they were the property of the *firm*. The building we rent has three rooms, all fronting the street. One end is occupied by the printing-office, the other by the medicine shop, and the middle room as the counting-house, in which the book-cases were kept. I did not hear of the writ till Friday evening. On the morning previous the middle-room door was locked and the key taken away; the windows were also nailed. I inquired of Dr. Newhall the cause, but he could not tell. But when I heard of the writ, I understood the matter; there was nothing in the room but P.'s library. When the constable came yesterday morning, I run my arm through a broken pane of glass, took out the nail, opened the window, and let him in; he took an inventory of the books, and carried them away. So you see it is a clear case of the biter bit. I shall tell Dr. P. the first time I converse with him that if

he expects the press subject in any way to the payment of our debts, he will find himself mistaken. P. knows nothing of you in it. He thinks I am the owner, and that I have some one to cover it for me. I sometime ago made Dr. Newhall acquainted with its situation.

My situation individually is a little better than it was when I wrote to you on the 29th ult. I have found means to get a new barrel of flour—and I have got my cow up from Springfield, whose milk, with the bread we make, is nearly all our living. I had the good luck yesterday to get an order on a store for a few dollars' worth of goods —but I have not received the amount of *one dollar* in money since the first of April. I have been trying to get the amount for advertising the canal lands into my hands, but it is uncertain whether I will succeed, as I find that Dr. P. has been trying to get it, but in what way I have not learned. It amounts to $42, and if I had it it would be a great relief—for, independent of the want of necessaries for my family, having bought no clothes for about 18 months, I have become quite shabby.

I expected a letter from you by last evening's mail, containing some advise relative to our business; but none came. I hope it will not long be delayed.

I am respectfully, your ob't serv't,

H. WARREN.

P. S.—On bringing the foregoing to the P.-O., I found your letter of the 6th inst. It was mislaid last night, so that I did not get it before. I will go to work on your address in hand-bills; but the *Crisis* did not arrive by last mail, so that only the first part is here. I wish I knew

whether you wanted any of them sent down to St. Louis for you.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GEORGE FORQUER.

SPRINGFIELD, June 30, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—All yours have been received, and I can at present only say that I am sorry I ever gave my opinion to you, for it is but too plain that you feel as if your friends had deserted you, and because perhaps I was wrong. If so, it was thro' the error of the most sincere and grateful friendship. You will see by our paper that there are three men in our party who have some courage. I should be surprised, tho', if the cowardice which has marked our party would make many of our men, most prominent, to be among the first to censure what we have done. I have long since seen that if I defended myself against the Duncans, that our friends stood ready to censure it; but I am now determined to consider all, who do not excuse and justify what we have done, to be our enemies. That family of rascals shall not by themselves and their hirelings destroy the little character we have earned by the sweat of our brows. The truth is, our friends should everywhere back us by echoing the warwhoop throughout the State. It would be like the shout of victory, and would animate our friends who are getting under cover by the daring of the other side. All our papers should cry out in tones of defiance. I think

every man who is before the people as candidate, and has been attacked, should come out with name in tones of thunder. This would stun the other side, and strike terror to their hearts. I wish you to show this to Mr. Cowles. I have not time to write to both. I have written more than 20 letters today. GEORGE FORQUER.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Letter of Hooper Warren; disappointed in not receiving printing-paper; reprinting Reynolds' handbills; Judge Young organizes Knox, McDonough, and Warren counties; Rock Island County to be organized next session; "any port in a storm"; ill-luck still pursuing him; letter of Gov. Edwards to his two brothers; suggestion as to writing about slavery; strange defection of the Methodists in Madison County; they are more afraid of Kinney than any five men in the State; has advanced more money than all Reynolds' friends put together; makes suggestion as to conducting the canvass; advises that Judge Smith be consulted; "too great a variety of matter weakens the effect of all"; letter of Hooper Warren; result of the election for governor in Jo Daviess County; what was done before the election; "base electioneering ribaldry of J. W. Stephenson and Dr. Philleo"; Col. Wight believed to be elected to the senate; getting out the last handbill; Galena depopulating every day; a livery-stable keeper proposes to run a light wagon for passengers to Chicago; account of a visit to Gen. McArthur at Chillicothe to see about land-warrant; letter of Elias Kent Kane; wants the letter of Gov. Edwards in relation to the slavery of persons of color held in Illinois previous to 1787; letter of John Reynolds, written after his election as governor; suggestions as to printers; Warren doing nothing; Galena no place at all, as low price of lead has ruined the country; $450 or $500 too much to pay for a house in Belleville; letter of A. P. Field; Kane electioneering with all his ingenuity; wants to know whether Reynolds will continue him as secretary of state; much gratified that "our friends" have triumphed by so large a vote.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, July 4th, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 23d ult. is received. It was probably written under the information contained in mine of—, in which I stated the probability of the *Galena Advertiser* being continued till after the election. My last, however, will have informed you of Mr. March's disappointing us in his engagement respecting paper, and that no more would be printed, probably under the present organization of the establishment; and there is no prospect at present, of a new one.

I have set in type the first part of your address, and was waiting to receive the balance. I shall this week take this, and with your last address in the *Democrat*, make up a handbill; after which, if I can spare time from my family, I will reprint some of Judge Reynolds' last handbills (dated in Schuyler Co.), which I have just seen, and am much pleased with, as admirably well calculated to subserve our cause.

I regret most sincerely the "timidity" of some of our friends, in co-operating with you; and deprecate the affliction you met with, in the disease of your eyes, which at this juncture, is a great misfortune.

Judge Young has just returned from his circuit. He is equally sanguine with yourself respecting the result of the election. He has organized three counties in the Bounty lands, *viz.*: Knox, McDonough, and Warren. In the two latter he has made but temporary appointments of clerks. He says McDonough has the most population, and proba-

bly will continue to have, owing to every part of it being susceptible of cultivation. A Mr. McNeill is the person appointed clerk *pro tem.* in Warren, and has a recommendation from several citizens of the county for the office permanently. But the Judge says he has no doubt, if I wish to take it, that he can satisfy McNeill by appointing him to some other county. He is however decidedly of opinion that I had not better go there; that the county to be formed opposite Rock Island will be far preferable, both as it respects business, and the situation of the country for residence; that from information obtained during his absence, he believed the county to be formed embracing the mouth of Fox River, on the canal tract, would be the best in the whole State, and the most speedily valuable of any of the new counties. Upon my suggesting that it was necessary for me to choose the place in which I could *soonest* settle myself advantageously, he observed that neither of the new counties in the military tract could afford me any considerable support for at least two years; that no courts would be held in them till next fall (I understood him the fall of 1831) for at the first going round he should do nothing but receive the bonds of the officers, &c. He said there was no doubt of the county about Rock Island being organized next session, as there are now more inhabitants there than in either of those he has just organized, and they have to come 100 miles to this place for justice, and he concluded by advising me to take the circuit of the whole this summer and fall, and choose for myself from personal observation With this suggestion I have no means of complying.

I begin to think it may be well for me to distrust my own judgment, and pay more regard to yours respecting my movements. Had I heeded your suggestions five years ago, respecting the probability of my success in Cincinnati, I might at this time have been in good circumstances. But it is too late to mend that matter. I am now in the situation of the sailor: "Any port in a storm," and must therefore choose the place in which I can most readily make a living. If you think Warren the best for that purpose, I will go thither. My ambition is moderate; with a small piece of land I could support my family with but little emolument from office. Judge Young spoke of you making your appointments *pro tem.*, but as they at any rate will hold but to the end of the next session, there would be but little use in doing so.

My wife has mainly recovered from her late sickness; but she is afflicted with the *dropsy*, in her feet and legs, so that it is extremely difficult for her to get about the house. Dr. N. however thinks it is only the consequence of her weak state, and that as she gains strength, she will recover. In one of my late letters, I thought the circumstance of getting my cow from Springfield, of sufficient importance to mention it to you, as on her I depended principally for a subsistence. As ill-luck would have it, she the past week took sick and *died*, supposed from licking mineral poison about a furnace. I must make a desperate effort to raise funds to purchase another; but there is but little probability of succeeding. Nobody owes us that will pay a debt if they can help it; and I have heard nothing from Dr. Jayne, to whom I sent the account for

advertising the canal lands. I send a duplicate by this mail.

I will write to my friend Mr. Tillson for information respecting the extent of the Recording business in Warren county. That for non-residents is principally under his control, and I understand it is optional with holders to record either at Vandalia or in the county. If this be the case, I think I could procure all within Mr. T.'s agency.

Your friend,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR EDWARDS TO CYRUS AND B. F. EDWARDS.

BELLEVILLE, 15 July, 1830.

DEAR BROTHERS:—It is very unfortunate that Judge Smith overlooked and left in the saddle-bags a letter that Mr. Cowles and myself wrote him. Among other things, I informed him how Reynolds could get money, &c. The main object, however, was to ascertain whether he would be willing for us to write about slavery, &c. His recent course toward me had been so satisfactory that I did not like to do anything that would be disagreeable to him. For my own part, I see no reason for his objection; but I wished him to say so himself.

We have bad news from some parts of the South, and our friends from different places think the contest will be closer than has been supposed. There is a strange defec-

tion among the Methodists of this county, and, it is feared, elsewhere. It is so recent that we know not how to account for it, nor what its extent. We have no way of controlling it but by awakening their apprehensions about slavery, and so their most friendly leaders think. They would control them if they could. They are more afraid of Kinney on the subject of slavery than any five men in the State. This subject may be made to do much good, and will not lose us a vote. It would have a powerful effect on Montgomery, Shelby, Mercer, and all the northern counties. I know it would contribute much to objects that the Judge is extremely anxious for. I suspect some of the effects that I have alluded to, in regard to the Methodists, must have been produced by Mr. Blackwell; but we know not how.

Inclosed are two pieces, if Smith has no objection and will have them made into a handbill, with Hill's and Hacker's letters, and it be concluded to give them extensive circulation. I will either pay $15 toward the expense or procure sufficient money for Reynolds, which I can do by going his security and giving 12½ per cent interest. I have already advanced more money than all Reynolds' friends together, though they do not seem to know it. Being "*hors de combat*" myself, all I do has exclusive regard to my friends. There is no claim upon me for anything, nor would I do anything under such a supposition.

It is now time to fix upon and press certain points exclusively upon the people — too great a variety of matter weakens the effect of all. Consult Judge Smith

upon what I have suggested. If he approves, I will do as I have said. If not, I will have nothing more to do with the election, for I am satisfied, and that is enough for me, that I have done my part. My own judgment highly approves of such a handbill as I have suggested, and, therefore, I would like to support it. But I am perfectly willing for every one to judge for himself. If my plan is not heartily acceptable, you will return me the inclosed, and say nothing more about the matter.

Affectionately,

N. EDWARDS.

Messrs. CYRUS and B. F. EDWARDS,

Edwardsville.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, August 8, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—The election in this county has resulted as follows: Reynolds, 310; Kinney, 152; Wright, 251; Teel, 178. No excitement was produced here until two weeks previous to the election, when Kinney's friends began to rally themselves. I saw their exertions, and felt mortified that no corresponding efforts were being made on our side. I mentioned the circumstance to Judge Young, who agreed with me that something ought to be done; and referring to several pieces in the Kaskaskia paper relative to Duncan and the Bank, and others, he observed that he wished they were circulated in this county. I offered to print them in handbills, and requested him to make the selections. He said he would

look over the papers, and if he thought it worth while he would let me know at night—at which time, having considered the subject, he concluded it was not expedient to print a handbill. A day or two after he called on me and said he thought it would have a good effect to print the proceedings of all the Jackson meetings in the State, nominating Reynolds. I accordingly hunted up the old papers and made the selection, to which were added M'Donough's, Bowling Green's, and Campbell's pieces, with introductions. The week preceding the election, I printed two other handbills, selected from different papers. On Sunday last I printed a handbill, which was circulated all over the county before seven o'clock the next morning, containing Hamilton's publication in the Springfield paper, with the statement of Mr. Brooks and the certificates of T. W. Smith and others, relative to the *forgery*. The *Miners' Journal*, of Saturday before the election, contained Bledsoe's publication, and was otherwise filled with base electioneering ribaldry, from the pens of J. W. Stephenson and Dr. Philleo. I was surprised to learn that the former, during the latter part of the campaign, made a bug-a-boo of your name like some other folks, and asserted that you brought out Wright for the purpose of defeating him. His recent appointment to the clerkship of this county gave him an undue influence among certain big men here. Among those was Major Campbell, the assistant-superintendent, whom he turned from Reynolds to Kinney by assuring him that Reynolds would oppose the resolution of Kane. In like manner he turned Mr. Meeker (a Kinney man)

from the support of Wright to that of Teel. The resolution of Kane was made the test of the representative throughout this county, and, as far as I can learn, throughout the district. It is believed, however, that Wright is elected.

To get out the last handbill in time, on Sunday last, I procured the assistance of Jones' journeyman, and paid him $1.50 out of my own pocket. It was promised to be refunded the next day by contribution, but only fifty cents of it has been made. This was all the money I had to swear by, and the last of $25 which I received from Dr. Jayne, out of which sum I paid $18 for a cow. As to the other printing, no one has offered to pay me a cent. I printed 500 of your addresses, a copy of which I sent you by mail. I sent 225 copies down the river in a steamboat and 175 by the stage to Peoria. The remainder were distributed in this county. Your handbills consumed just half of the paper you sent. The balance I used in printing the other bills.

The ill-health of my wife and infant child requires me to spend a large portion of my time in the house. I have, therefore, made but little progress in packing the printing materials. It is a larger job than I anticipated. The type will not be safe, either for moving or storage, unless set up in pages, as they came from the foundry, and put up in boxes. After this is done, if I receive no order from you to the contrary, I shall have them stored.

This place is depopulating every day. A great many are thinking of moving to the canal tract, so much so that a livery-stable keeper here will start this week to Chicago

with a light wagon and passengers, and intends to run it regularly.

I observe in the *National Journal* a notice of the General Land Office, of the 26th June, concerning "an act for the relief of officers and soldiers of the Virginia Line," &c. It is probably in the *Telegraph*. Will you do me the favor to examine it carefully, and ascertain if it applies to the tract set apart between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers. It appears to me from the reading that it does; and, if so, it will afford me not only relief in my present condition, but enable me to make you some compensation for what you have done for me. Mr. Cook, by whose advice I purchased the claim of Mrs. Stephenson, recommends me to go to Gen. M'Arthur at Chillicothe (to whom he gave me a letter of introduction) for advice relative to its location or sale. The act for the relief of Benjamin Stephenson passed in 1822, while you were a member, and you, of course, probably have the law. I had no copy of it to show Gen. Mc'A., but from my description of it, he said the act of Congress was perfectly useless, as the original law provided for the issuing of *duplicates* where the original warrants were lost or destroyed, as in the case of the person under whom Stephenson claimed; that all warrants were directed to the surveyor (Col. Anderson, near Louisville, Ky.), that he did not think the surveyor could proceed under that act (for the relief of Stephenson) to locate the land. He told me that every acre on the tract fit for cultivation was taken up; that he had known no sales for twelve months, and the last that were made were for 12½ cents

an acre; and he showed me a map in his office in which the number of every warrant that had been issued was either written or printed as they were located, and the whole map was perfectly full of them, except in some places on the Ohio, which he said were *knobs*. I then returned to Cincinnati, and, before I left that place, assigned Mrs. Stephenson's deed to Mr. Starr, who in his last letter to me, about a year and a half ago, said he would use it as I directed. It appears from the instructions of Mr. Graham that no transfer can be made after the passage of the act (May 30, 1830); the script would, therefore, have to be obtained in the name of Mr. Starr, otherwise I would propose to put it into your hands.

I am, sir, yours truly,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF ELIAS KENT KANE.*

KASKASKIA, Aug'st 31st, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Some two years ago I rec'd from you a letter containing some new and striking views of the question now pending before the Sup. Court, U. S., in relation to the slavery of persons of colour (and their progeny) held in Illinois previous to '87. I supposed I had taken this letter to Washington last winter, but upon examination could not find it. Since my return home, I

* It is much to be regretted that this letter of Governor Edwards, of which Mr. Kane speaks, is not at hand. The views of so able a man as Governor Edwards on that subject would be very interesting.

have examined every paper in my possession to find it, but in vain. It has been lost, by my lending it to some friend (perhaps Judge Young) to read. May I ask of you the favour, as it is a matter in which I learn you have an interest, to repeat to me the views you have taken upon the question. The case is at the head of the docket of the Sup. Court, and will be argued at the commencement of the next term. Yours truly,

E. K. KANE.

His Excellency N. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR REYNOLDS.*

CLEAR LAKE, 10 Sept., 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Since I saw you, I think Mr. Warren, the printer, ought to pass this winter at Springfield with Meredith, and join in the printing. Warren, I hear, is doing nothing where he is. I will see Meredith on the subject. He wants help, and W. is the man. If Brooks and Fleming can succeed, and join at Vandalia, then the place for Warren is Belleville, as there will be an opening. Galena is no place at all, as the low price of lead has ruined that county for the present.

I would suggest to you the propriety to write to Mr. Warren to join Meredith for this winter, and then to settle in Belleville, if Brooks and Fleming can be elected public printers.

* This letter of John Reynolds was written after his election as governor. It seems that he then contemplated taking up his residence in Belleville, but was discouraged at the amount of money that it would take to build a brick-house—$450 or $500.

I understand that a house, such as yours, of brick can be built for $450 or $500. I can not, because I will not be more embarrassed than I am, give such high prices for a residence in Belleville as the people there ask. I will again, before I give up the scheme, go and see you and others on the house subject. I do not want one lower than a fair price. Your obe'nt serv't,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Governor N. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF A. P. FIELD.*

JONESBORO', Sept. 17th, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Kane has been with us for a day, electioneering with all his ingenuity. He is no doubt very much alarmed, and appears from his conduct to believe that his success is extremely uncertain. I think our Rep. will be against him.

I am anxious to know whether Reynolds is willing to continue me as secretary. I am confident that he has no power to appoint any person without my resigning. I believe the principle has been settled in the case of Forquer, that the officer is not at the pleasure of the Gov. Let me hear from you on the subject.

I am much gratified to learn that our friends have triumphed by so large a vote. And if things are man-

* Mr. Field was made secretary of state during the administration of Gov. Edwards in 1828. He held the office until November 30th, 1840, and until removed by judicial proceedings.

aged well we will be able to succeed at the next Legislature.

I am still unwell, but hope to be able by winter to attend to my public duties. I would be glad to hear from you as soon as is convenient.

Your friend,

A. P. FIELD.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,

Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Letter of Hooper Warren about the sale of the printing-material of the "Galena Advertiser"; whole family taken down with ague and fever; recommends legal proceedings against Newhall, Philleo, and company; Dr. Newhall to go as a surgeon to Fort Winnebago; letter of Sidney Breese; his misgivings in regard to Judge Smith; Smith hand and glove with Kane after saying that he (Smith) had acted "like a dirty dog"; determined to make Gov. Reynolds choose between Smith and himself; Smith for himself first, then for Kane; can not plan, but can aid in executing; thinks Reynolds can be compelled to take sides; the "Crisis" to be proved a liar; letter of A. P. Field; promises to go to Vandalia; hopes some arrangements can be made to beat Kane; letter of Duff Green; Crawford and some of his followers playing off a deep game; the veto alarming the personal adherents of Gen. Jackson; believed Gen. Jackson will be a candidate for re-election; "our friends" in the South have played a foolish part on the tariff, and Calhoun suffers; appointments in Illinois a source of much anxiety to him; Fleming as destitute of sense as of principle; Gov. John Pope of Arkansas fulfilling his anticipations; if he meddles with small things, he must leave the territory in disgrace; warned him against his fall and protested against his going to Arkansas.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.

GALENA, Sept. 19th, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Maj. Wm. Campbell has proposed to purchase your printing materials here. He spoke to me on the subject the former part of last week, and inquired the price. I told him the sum they had been twice sold for, $1000.

and the additions that had been made. Presuming that more could not be got, I proposed that sum as the least I could name. He took time to consult a friend (I suppose Col. Wight), and informed me yesterday that he had been told that a press and type sufficient for a newspaper could be bought in Cincinnati for $400. I tried to convince him of the value of these materials, and what kind of an office could be had for the price he mentioned, *viz.:* a press and *one* fount of long primer type sufficient to print a small sized paper, and that when he had moved them hither, with the joiner's work and other costs that would be necessary to put them in operation, would amount to at least two hundred dollars more. Further, that when a fount of brevier, and other small founts of head lines, such as antique and broad faced capitals, which would be necessary to print a respectable paper, together with the different founts of job type, were taken into consideration, the price asked by me for this press would not be deemed high. He, however, said I must come down considerably before he could purchase. I told him I could not name a less sum without consulting the owner. He proposes to pay part down, the balance in six and twelve months. You will, therefore, be pleased to let me know as soon as possible the lowest price you are willing to take, and to send me a transfer (in blank) of Mr. Cook's sale to you, as well as the bill of materials purchased by Mr. Lane.

From your last letter, you have doubtless expected the press would have been sent to St. Louis before this time; but the sickness of myself and family has prevented it.

Immediately after the date of my letter to you of the 9th ult., my whole family, including myself, were taken down with the ague and fever. I recovered in six or eight days, but my wife has continued sick most of the time since, as also my second son. But for the last two weeks a relapse has taken place, and my wife and three children have the ague and fever every day. This has required all my attention in the house, as no assistance can be had.

There were thirty-two cases of type to be set up, being the same work as if it were for printing; and on an average each case is a day and a half's work for a journeyman. I have set out 25 cases. The remaining, however, are some of the lightest, and I could finish them in less than a week if I could attend to it.

It may be well for you to make out your bill against Newhall, Philleo & Co. for the use of your press and materials for a year. I think $150 would be low enough to charge. By employing Mr. Mills or some other lawyer to collect it, with directions to sue in time for trial at next court, you would stand a chance to recover the amount, that is if Philleo has not sold or shall not sell before judgment could be had, his land in the Bounty Tract, of which he owned last winter, as he informed me, 15 or 20 quarters. He employed W. H. Brown to pay the taxes last year, and he sold a quarter last May or June lying in Schuyler County for $120. I paid Meredith $24.40 for the new materials he put into the office at Springfield, which, together with what type I purchased at St. Louis with my own money, amounts to near $40. This may go towards the use of the office in Springfield. But Philleo purchased

a large steamboat plate and a cut for a bill of lading, which cost $5; a new bank (the high table on which the paper is put while it is working at press) and a lye trough were bought here, the cost of which I do not know, but probably not more than $10—making $15, which it would be proper to give credit for, and deduct from the $150.

I hope you will not fail to let me hear from you by the first mail after the arrival of this.

I am respectfully, your friend and servant,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS.

P.S.—Since the purchase of type from Keemle, the price has fallen at the foundries 20 per cent; long primer, which was sold for 50 cents a pound is now sold for 40—and all other type in proportion. You will take this into consideration in fixing on your price.

Dr. Newhall leaves here in a few days on an engagement for six months as surgeon at Fort Winnebago. The surgeon there going eastward during the winter.

H. W.

LETTER OF SIDNEY BREESE.

KASKASKIA, Sept. 21st, 1830.

Governor N. EDWARDS.

Dear Sir:—I return you my sincere thanks for your letters by Don Morrison. The article in the *Democrat* was prepared before I received them, and is as *temperate* as I could write under all the circumstances. I had my misgivings while Smith was here at court and had you not been apparently so averse to talking on such subjects

when I was at B'ville I should have told you all about them. Suffice it to say for the present, that he was "hand and glove" with Kane while here and staid two nights at his house, and this too, when *he knew* from me that Kane had said he had acted "like a dirty dog" in the West affair. * * *

As to the proposed union of Fleming and Brooks, after what has happened, I am decidedly against it, nor shall my type ever print a word in favor of Van Buren, Proscription, or against Internal Improvements and the Tariff. I cut all such company. I shall make the remarks in your letters the subject of an article or two for the next *Democrat.* You complain that your opinions are disregarded. Not by me certainly. You seemed to be averse to talk on such subjects when I saw you and I therefore did not broach them. I went into a full explanation with Cowles and told him frankly what I thought Smith's course would be. If I continue engaged in politics, I am determined to make Gov. Reynolds *choose* between Smith and myself, in other words between the *Crisis* and *Democrat.* Reynolds I can not believe will countenance or encourage these attacks upon me and our friends. It is to them he owes his election and he knows it. I believe sincerely that I have more friends among the "Reynolds men" than S. and I shall, if things go on as they have commenced put their friendship to the test. I ought not to be, *and will not be without a struggle*, sacrificed for him. He has had it long in contemplation to bring over the State thro' his supposed influence with R. to Van Buren. I told R. so when I saw him, but there is no danger. R. will be firm I think.

S. is for himself first, then for Kane and so I have told my friends.

I am much engaged at present preparing the reports for the press, and am about starting on the Southern Circuit. I shall have one of my free and friendly conversations with Judge Browne on all these matters. He will be much mortified at the course things are taking. I would take it as *a very great favor*, if you would prepare one of your articles for the press, on these matters. You have the whole subject in your grasp, and I believe more leisure, and I know infinitely more ability than myself, to make these things plain to all. Do give your views of them, editorially, *thro' me*, in the *Democrat*. There is one remark in one of your letters which I wish much you would amplify. It is this: "What would you think of the double motive of rivalry, and a disposition to conciliate one of your most potent enemies?" I do not entirely understand what you mean and would be much obliged to you, if you would go a little into detail. In that, I shall like your views *in full* upon these matters. What course would you advise me to take? What can I, or my friends do, to avail anything? I can not plan, but I can *aid* in executing. You can not charge me with "undervaluing" your opinions or with estimating lightly your judgment, nor have I ever considered your advice as obtrusive.

Fleming is already threatened with the loss of the public printing for his remarks about "Rotation in office." The *Crisis* will get it, that is a part of the plan. F. *must* be made public printer, or Grant, I care not which. The *Crisis* has certainly declared ever against the Reynolds

party, and as such I can not, as *I have not* given it any support. I will write to Judge Reynolds about these things and I think he can be compelled to take sides. I shall also publish his sentiments more at large, about Removals and Internal Improvements. They shall be known, and the *Crisis* be proved *a liar*. I will write you again. In the mean time let me hear from you.

Your friend, sincerely,

SIDNEY BREESE.

LETTER OF A. P. FIELD.

JONESBORO', September 24th, 1830.

DEAR GOV.:—Your very friendly letter of the 16th inst. has been duly received, and I do assure you that if it is in my power I will be at Vandalia by the 4th or 5th of October. Our Courts have commenced, and I am necessarily compelled to attend to them. However, if I can I will go to Vandalia and remain there a few days, and return to our Court, which commences on the 18th of October. You say that my continuance in office depends upon my future attention to business. I hope that the business has been conducted well, and will in future be strictly attended to by myself or competent clerk. Mr. Posey has informed me that the office is in first-rate order, and that himself and you have harmonised well. I am much gratified, indeed, to hear that Mr. Thompson is warmly my friend. He is a man for whom I have the highest regard. I am much in hopes that we can make some arrangement this winter to beat Kane.

which I think can be done by a union of our friends.

Your friend,

A. P. FIELD.

P.S.—Our mutual friend Doctor Priestley intends to offer for Treasurer of the State, and I have no doubt his prospects are very flattering. The Dr. has been a thorough going friend of Judge Reynolds, and every confidence can be placed in his character for talents and integrity. You will please write to me on the subject.

A. P. FIELD.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.

WASHINGTON, October 8th, 1830.

(CONFIDENTIAL).

DEAR SIR:—Scarce a day has passed since the adjourn. of the late session of Congress that I have not resolved to write to you relative to passing events and the prospect for the future, but great events and combinations have traced each other with such rapidity that I could scarce record one before another was in its place.

Your old friend Crawford and some of his followers have been playing off a deep game, and a powerful combination, headed by his active partisans, are paving the way for the elevation of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency. That influence has made a covert war upon me, and nothing but the power of my press and the force of my position has maintained me thus far. Van Buren has

acted through Major Eaton upon the President. His desire for successful diplomacy, and the effect which the advantageous arrangement of our *foreign* relations will have on him, all combine to place him more and more under that influence.

The veto had the effect of alarming the personal adherents of Gen. Jackson. They (some of them) believed that it would injure him and felt the necessity of rallying on my paper for protection. I have done my duty faithfully, and they will find it difficult to make open war upon me. I shall be warmly sustained by Calhoun and McLean, and I believe that Van Buren is too cautious to oppose my re-election as printer to Congress —one other term and I am safe as to pecuniary affairs. I intend to sustain the administration, support the re-election of Gen. Jackson, and maintain such relation to Calhoun, Van Buren and McLean that neither of them can assail me without assailing the liberty of the press and the usages and principles of the Republican party. If either assail me it shall be because I have refused to become a partisan. I believe that Gen. Jackson will be a candidate for re-election. An attempt will be made to prevent Mr. Calhoun's running as Vice-President. I fear that Col. Drayton will be put in nomination. He and Livingstone and Cambreleng were much together last year. Our friends in the South have played a foolish part on the tariff, and Calhoun suffers. His own State will desert him. The appointments in your State have been the source of much anxiety to me. I could not control them, and I regret to find that Fleming, who

never had any principle, and is as destitute of sense as of principle, is breaking ground against the appointments, and in favor of Mr. Clay's system of internal improvements. This charged to you, and will be made to act on me *here*.

I see that John Pope is fulfilling my anticipation in Arkansas. He cannot stand it if he meddles with small matters, and must leave the Territory in disgrace. I told him so. I warned him of his fate and protested against his going to Arkansas.

Your sister was yesterday confined with our *fifth* daughter. It is a fine child and she promises to do well. She joins me in love to you and Mrs. Edwards.

Your aff. relation,

D. GREEN.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

P.S.—Mr. Marcy sent you the doc. relative to the Bank.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Letter of David J. Baker; will be "highly gratified by a trip to Washington in the character of senator"; if appointed, "will repair to the post in time"; letter of Duff Green; thinks Mr. Kane will take an active part against him; project on foot to drive Ingham and Branch from the cabinet; advice as to the course Gov. Edwards should pursue; predicts an explosion in the cabinet, shaking Gen. Jackson's popularity to its foundation; the representation from Illinois should be united; letter of Hooper Warren; negotiations about sale of the newspaper-establishment; Col. Wight and J. W. Stephenson attempt to form an association to buy the paper; Major Campbell and Col. Wight going to Washington; doomed to stay in Galena another winter; has fixed on Chicago or its neighborhood as his future residence; wants influence of Gov. Edwards in favor of Mr. Mills for judge; a high compliment paid to Mills; Philleo has got a "new gig and goes to Vandalia with the rest"; letters of David J. Baker; acknowledges the receipt of his appointment as senator, and is admitted and qualified; Roberts writing letters to injure Gov. Edwards for having appointed him senator; an appointment to the Indian agency; Kane to be numbered among Gov. Edwards' friends; Joe Duncan and Kane not friendly at all; Kane and himself go to see Mr. Ingham on the subject of the renomination of McKee for the land-office at Edwardsville; letter of Elias Kent Kane in relation to a conversation with Duff Green; Mr. Baker, Governor Edwards' appointee for U. S. senator, behaves with prudence and like a man of good sense; brief sketch of Elias Kent Kane; letter of Judge McLean; congratulates Gov. Edwards upon the reappointment of McKee; sad forebodings of the dissolution of the Union; the political horizon at this place is overcast; selfish considerations have

too much influence in our public measures; wants to see the public mind tranquilized by acts of moderation and patriotism on all sides; enunciation of sound principles; the government established for the people and the officers of the government should never forget that they are the agents for the people; what Col. Benton once said in relation to members of Congress and officials at Washington.

LETTER OF DAVID J. BAKER.*

KASKASKIA, Nov. 1st, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—On my return home last night, Mrs. Baker handed me the copy of a letter she had ventured in my absence to address to you and also your answer, on a subject I certainly should have been reluctant to name myself, distrusting as I well may my ability to fulfil the important duties of such appointment and believing that, if my merits would recommend me as qualified for this or any other office, I should not, tho' I were not a *formal* applicant, be overlooked by your Excellency. It may suffice for me, at this time, to observe that what Mrs. Baker has done in this matter without my knowledge meets with my entire aprobation and, altho' no aspirant for this or any other office. I can not deny that I should be highly gratified with a trip to Washington in the character of Senator and the thought, which would inspire me with the greatest pride and pleasure in that character, would be,

* This letter is dated on the 1st day of November, 1830, and on the 12th of the same month, Mr. Baker was appointed by the governor United States senator, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of John McLean. He only held the position until his successor, John M. Robinson of Carmi, was elected, December 11th, 1830.

that the honor was conferred on me by a friend deservedly honored as an enlightened statesman, admired as an independent politician and esteemed for truth and sincerity in his profession of friendship. I doubt with yourself whether this temporary situation would be of any real advantage to me, still I would accept it and do my best not to disgrace the honorable station. The opinion you are pleased to express of my "merits, talents, and firmness," tho' I am conscious of being unworthy of it, is certainly very flattering and, were it to come from almost any other person, would be received and treated as merely complimentary.

To conclude, if the gentleman, to whom you have proffered this appointment, should, as you think it not improbable he may, decline accepting it, I expect to be informed thereof as speedily as may be *by express*, and, in such event, I assure you, I "will repair to the post in time."

Most respectfully, and in the sincerity of friendship,

I am, dear sir,

Your most devoted and obedient servant,

DAVID J. BAKER.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Governor of Illinois, Belleville.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8th, 1830.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 27th ult. is received. What you communicate relative to Mr. Kane is not news to me

That he is ultimately to take an active part against me as soon as he supposes it to be the particular interest of his favorite candidate requires him to do so, I have no doubt. I have hoped (but faintly I admit) that future circumstances may control him and those with whom he is disposed to act so as to prevent a collision which must endanger if not overthrow the Republican party. I shall still hope for the best and in all things do my duty faithfully and fearlessly. You say that Kane treats you with courtesy and that he has no other than political hostility to you, and speaks of your coming forth with great strength four years hence. So far as you or your fame are concerned you had as well speak of four years after the general resurrection.

Here is a project on foot to drive Ingham and Branch out of the Cabinet, to bring in McLane of Delaware and some other Crawford man into the administration, perhaps Forsythe, and to run Crawford for Vice-President. One of the first movements of this new coalition is to be upon me. You can see that this will necessarily rally to my aid all of the friends of Mr. Calhoun and of Judge McLean and that it may throw many opposition votes upon me. I feel strong enough for the crisis.

But how are you to act? You must lie still and let the moment for triumph pass unimproved or you must come into the next Congress. You must come in as the friend or the opponent of Kane. If your friends do not support him he will look out for some one to oppose you. Of the proper course for you to adopt you being upon the spot, are the best judge. Of one thing however I can assure

you; you are in entire error as to the motives which operate upon Mr. Ingham. It may be that he has done too much to gratify Duncan, but if so it is easily accounted for on other considerations. Duncan is the brother-in-law of Clarke, the clerk of the House. He, his wife, and Clarke and his wife are constant in their personal attentions and make the greatest professions, &c. What I have said relative to future movements may satisfy you. Be not surprised if before the close of the next session you hear of such an explosion here as will separate friends never again to be united and shaking Gen'l Jackson's popularity to its foundation. I hope for better things, but be prepared for the worst. Be not surprised to hear that Clay is withdrawn and McLean a candidate.

These views I give to you in the strictest confidence because they may be important for you. It is certainly important for you that your entire representation from Ill. should be united. It will give to each more influence, and to you a divided interest from your State particularly in the Senate will be fatal. Strange as it may seem the elections of Senators from your State favorable to me may be of much greater importance to me than my re-election as printer. It may prevent combinations as to you and other friends.

Yours,

D. GREEN.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF HOOPER WARREN.*

GALENA, Nov. 24, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—The negotiations for the sale of your printing materials have terminated without effecting that object. It seems that Major Campbell was advised to desist from his first purpose (of purchasing them alone, and publishing a paper under his own name) on account of his being an agent of the Government. Himself, Col. Wight, J. W. Stephenson, and Mr. Smoker then attempted to form an association, and have a paper published under Stephenson's name. I was requested to make a written proposition of the terms on which I would sell. I did so, offering the materials for $850—$250 down and a liberal credit for the remainder. This being considered too high, I requested them to make me a proposition; but which has not been done. Major Campbell informed me that they could not agree as to the course the paper should take on particular subjects, which was the cause of their not making the purchase.

I have had no opportunity to send the materials to St. Louis since the negotiation was broken off. There has been but one boat in the river, and that has made but two trips between this and the lower Rapids (it being here now on the second and last). Mr. Atchison, the agent of the boat, being a large dealer in lead himself, would receive no freight from others, except moving families with their plunder.

* Judge Young was not elected to the senate, according to the "general opinion" which Mr. Warren speaks of. John M. Robinson of White County was elected. He speaks of Mills as being popular with all parties, and doing himself great credit at the bar.

Major Campbell and Col. Wight are going to Washington this winter. I think it likely that should the spirit of the times render it necessary to the support of the administration, they will take measures to establish a paper here in the spring. You will probably see Major C. at Vandalia.

The sickness of my family (which with our infant daughter yet continues) has prevented my moving to the canal tract this fall, as I intended. I am, therefore, doomed to *stay* here another winter.

I have fixed on Chicago or its neighborhood as my future residence. It is now the general opinion that Judge Young will go to the U. S. Senate. In that event, my appointment to a clerkship will depend upon the person that may be appointed his successor. Of those spoken of, I have heard of Mills, Strode, Hubbard, Breese, and McRoberts. I believe I should stand a fair chance with all these, excepting the last named. Should you exert your influence, I hope it will be in favor of Mr. Mills. He is popular with all parties here, and has done himself great credit at the bar. He being obliged to attend the Iowa County Court, he can not start from this place to Vandalia till about the middle of December. His competitors may, therefore, take advantage of his absence.

I gave your account to Mr. Mills to collect. He sued for it, and Philleo employed four lawyers to oppose. It being left to the court to decide, judgment was rendered you for $135, on the testimony of Mr. Mills that I had admitted the account to be correct. Newhall being absent, process was not served on him.

Philleo has got a new gig made, and goes to Vandalia with the rest, where it is likely you will see him. Tillson & Holmes also got judgment against us for $160. They have some knowledge of his land, and will probably levy on it. You can perhaps proceed in concert with them.

I remain, sir, yours truly,

H. WARREN.

His Excellency Gov. EDWARDS, Vandalia, Illinois.

LETTERS OF DAVID J. BAKER.

SENATE CHAMBER, Dec'r 6th, 1830.

SIR:—I rec'd my appointment this morning, and all is right. This body (the Senate) was called to order by the Speaker *pro tem.*, and my certificate was presented by Mr. Kane, and I was admitted and qualified. Mr. Kane came to this place a considerable part of the way in company with me, and in all this time I did not hear him utter a syllable derogatory to you, but uniformly spoke in your favor; and I do indeed believe, from all I could discover while with him, he is not unfriendly to you, and has even more confidence in you than he has in some of his professed friends. Gen'l Green informs me that McRoberts has been writing letters with a view to injure you for your having appointed me. I hope neither you nor your friends will be injured for this act of yours, nor have reason to regret it.

I am, Sir, with great consideration,

your ob't, humble serv't,

DAVID J. BAKER.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS, Vandalia, Ill.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec'r 28th, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 11th and 12th inst., enclosing letters to Gen'l Duff Green and a recommendation address'd to the President in favor of Mr. Prince, were received today. The letters directed to Gen'l G. I will hand to him tomorrow, and the recommendation address'd to the Pres't shall be handed to him very soon.

It is very well you wrote to Gen. G. in behalf of Mr. McKee, for I have apprehensions that he is endeavoring to get Mr. Semple nominated; but this is only a conjecture, and you are at liberty to receive it for what it is worth and no more. Last week, a note was rec'd by Mr. Kane from the Secretary of the Treasury, in which he desired to know if there was any objection to the renomination of McKee. Mr. Kane in reply told him he would consult me on the subject, and that *we* would give him an answer tomorrow. Mr. Kane and myself had talked this matter over before the rec't of that note, and we have also talked on the subject since, and it is now agreed between us to recommend McKee for reappointment. I assure you I have already done what I could, and will continue to do whatever I can to secure the reappointment of Mr. McKee. And I feel very happy that in doing this I can serve you and others of McKee's friends, McKee himself, and the public at large, and do what duty to all enjoins.

As to the appointment of Mr. Prince to the Indian Agency, I can not promise so much. Soon after I heard of the death of Doct. Wolcott, I rec'd a letter from Col. Mather at Kaskaskia, requesting me to do what I could

to get Mr. Owen of that place appointed. I went to see Mr. Eaton immediately on the subject, and recommended Mr. Owen; and I think Owen will get it, unless Mr. Kane induces the Secretary to prefer Alexander of Pope Co.

You have many friends here, and I can not doubt that Mr. Kane is to be numbered among them. He and Jo. Duncan are not friendly at all.

Your ob't serv't,

DAVID J. BAKER.

His Excellency N. EDWARDS,

Vandalia, Illinois.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 29th, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Kane and myself went to see Mr. Ingham this morning on the subject of McKee's renomination. We both stated to him our wish to see McKee re-appointed, and told him we knew of no objection to its being done, and that McKee had been a good and faithful officer and was recommended for re-appointment by at least two-thirds of the members of the Legislature as well as by many others who are among the most respectable men in our State. He will, I doubt not, be appointed, and if so, he may feel himself much indebted to Mr. Kane, who is his decided friend.

I saw Mr. Calhoun, for the first time, about an hour ago. I am much pleased with him. He arrived here last night.

The letters enclosed to me I handed to Gen. Green this morning. The recommendation of McKee was

handed to the Secretary of the Treasury by Duncan last night.

I am, Sir, with great consideration,

Your obliged, humble servant,

DAVID J. BAKER.

His Excellency N. EDWARDS,

Vandalia, Illinois.

LETTER OF ELIAS KENT KANE.*

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2d, 1831.

DEAR SIR:—As my re-election is over and my motives can not be misconstrued, I write for the purpose of putting you right with regard to the conduct of Gen. Green towards you. Last summer a gentleman of some note in Illinois told me that you were (to use his own language) "outrageously angry with Gen. Green, because he had violated your confidence in shewing to me one of your letters wherein you declared you would not run for the Senate." I at once said that Green had done no such thing, and your suspicions were unfounded. Not liking to talk much

* Elias Kent Kane was born in New York, June 7th, 1796. After having been admitted to the bar, he commenced the practice of law in Nashville, Tennessee. After a short residence in that city, he immigrated to Kaskaskia. He was a member of the convention which framed the first constitution of the State of Illinois, and upon the election of Shadrach Bond as governor was appointed the first secretary of state for the State of Illinois. In 1824, he was elected a member of the house of representatives from Randolph County, and soon after taking his seat was elected United States senator for six years. He was re-elected in 1830, and died at Washington, December 12th, 1835. David J. Baker, who was his colleague in the senate for a short time, was appointed senator by Governor Edwards, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of John McLean, who died at Shawneetown, October 14th, 1830.

with the individual (informant), I took occasion to state to two of your friends (at least I thought them so) the whole truth about it. Last winter, at a party given by the Secretary of War, I met Gen. Green, who commenced a conversation about my prospects of a re-election. (This was natural, as circumstances had thrown us together which it is unnecessary to explain.) I replied I knew but little about it. He then said "Gov. Edwards will not be a candidate." I said, "are you sure of that?" "Yes," said he, "for he has so written to me." This is all that ever passed between us upon that subject. Upon my return home I stated these facts to a few of my confidential friends. I have no recollection that I made the statement to more than one, and that one was Gov. Bond, as I think. To that gentleman I had been in the habit for years of disclosing everything. He may imprudently have mentioned it, and in this way the exaggerated account has reached you. A few days ago I called upon Gen. Green and mentioned the subject. He at once read me a copy of a letter which he had written to your brother in Edwardsville, wherein he seemed to have been under the impression that he had shown me a letter from him. I told him he had never done so—and that the whole truth was as I have described. I hope therefore that any feeling against Gen. Green on this account will be corrected. Your appointee, Mr. Baker, has behaved with much prudence and like a man of good sense. I have become attached to him, and will take some fit occasion to give some substantial proof of my good opinion of him. Bills have passed the Senate again to quiet the difficulty about the 3 per cent fund, and to

obtain other lands in lieu of the college township. As they have passed thus early no good reason can be given why they should not pass the House of Representatives this session.

With great respect, your obe't ser't,

E. K. KANE.

LETTER OF JUDGE JOHN McLEAN.*

WASHINGTON, 16th Jan., 1831.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 14th ult. was received yesterday, and I take great pleasure in informing you that your friend, McKee, has been re-appointed to the office he now holds.

The political horizon at this place is overcast. To the man who loves his country there is no pleasing prospect for the future. I cannot state what I see, much less what I fear. I will, however, continue to hope, even against hope. A more important crisis than the present has not occured in the annals of our Government. Parties are arrayed against each other in conflict on questions of National policy, and unless there be magnanimity and forbearance on both sides, there is ground to fear that the contest may end in the dissolu-

* To one familiar with the history of the country, it can but seem strange that so level-headed and sensible a man as Judge McLean should have had fears of a dissolution of the Union at that time. It only illustrates what Col. Benton once said, that members of Congress and officials at Washington become very much excited among themselves, and took their own opinions and feelings as a criterion of the feelings of the people at large. While the Washington people would be very much excited and impressed with fears that the country was all going to the bad, the masses of the people all over the country were quietly attending to their own affairs, and utterly oblivious to the excitement prevailing at Washington.

tion of the Union. If this shall take place, there is no hope for free government.

The truth is, selfish considerations have too much influence in our public measures. The affairs of the Government should be managed for the benefit of the stockholders, and not the directors. If the patronage of the Government shall be considered as the private property of him who may happen to possess the power, and it be used to advance his views, or any other selfish end, to the neglect of the public service, it will not be long before the moral force of our institutions will be destroyed, and, after that, they will not be worth preserving.

Mankind can only be governed by moral or physical force. The latter is incompatible with free government.

I wish to see the public mind tranquilized by acts of moderation and patriotism on all sides. Our Government was formed on the principles of compromise, and it can only be successfully administered by a constant reference to the foundation on which it rests. If such a policy be opposed to the course of the heated partizan, it will advance the vital interests of the country. The Government was established for the people, and the officers of the Government should never forget that they are the agents of the people.

But, I need not theorise upon these subjects. They have, no doubt, occupied much of your reflection.

With great respect, truly yours,

JOHN MCLEAN.

Governor EDWARDS, Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Letter of Duff Green; removal of Blair to Washington; the disagreement between the president and vice-president; his account of the controversy; Gen. Jackson charging Mr. Calhoun with insincerity; letters and statements implicating Mr. Crawford; Dr. Philleo seeking a subagency and promising to buy out the "Galena Advertiser"; Dr. Philleo's connection with newspapers at Galena; the "Galena Advertiser", published by Newhall, Philleo & Co.; the "Galenian", published by Dr. Philleo during the Black-Hawk War, "flaming accounts of battles fought and victories won"; the establishment of the "Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser"; the duel between John Turney and S. M. Bartlett; the "Northwestern Gazette" falls into the hands of H. H. Houghton, who has full editorial control of it for a quarter of a century; Mr. Houghton died April 30, 1879, being the oldest editor in the State; letter of John Reed; the "life member" of Congress from Massachusetts; letter of Duff Green; calls attention to correspondence between Mr. Calhoun and General Jackson on the subject of the Seminole campaign; General Robinson throwing himself into the arms of VanBuren and Kane; "come to Congress if you can"; letters of A. P. Field; proposes offering for Congress if Gov. Edwards does not desire to run; meets Breese on the stump at Lebanon; achieves a signal victory over him; letter of John Reynolds; writes from Beardstown during the Black-Hawk War; letter of William J. Gatewood; writes in relation to the "great land question"; argues in favor of Gov. Edwards' proposition; Mr. Gatewood, a representative from Gallatin County in the legislature in 1830-32, and twice elected senator from the same county, in 1834 and 1840; regarded as an able lawyer and a man of brilliant talents.

LETTERS OF DUFF GREEN.*

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19th, 1831.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

DEAR SIR:—It is natural that you should feel some anxiety relative to my personal affairs, and some desire to know how the political conflicts will affect them.

The removal of Blair to this city was, no doubt, preparatory to a developement, on the part of a portion of the President's friends, in which it was anticipated that I could not co-operate. He came here *professing* an anxious desire to serve me, and declaring that he would do all in his power to secure my re-election. That he and his friends supposed that I had given unpardonable offence to Mr. Clay's partizans, and that they would coalesce against me, is apparent; but they forgot that Kendall and Blair had once been Clay's friends, that they too

* This letter is a very interesting one as illustrating the events of the time, as connected with Gen. Jackson's administration. Philleo's name (Dr. Philleo) is often mentioned in the letters of Hooper Warren to Gov. Edwards. He was connected with the first newspaper at Galena, the *Miners' Journal;* and afterward was connected with the *Galenian*, the successor of the *Miners' Journal:* and during the Black-Hawk war, made himself conspicuous by flaming accounts of "battles fought and victories won." The *Galena Advertiser* was established by Newhall, Philleo & Co.; partly through the assistance rendered by Gov. Edwards, as a paper in opposition to the *Miners' Journal*, though it would seem that Philleo became interested in the latter paper. The *Advertiser*, after a short and precarious existence, "gave up the ghost." The *Miners' Journal* was succeeded by the *Galenian* under Dr. Philleo, and it became so unpopular under his management, that in 1834, Dickinson B. Morehouse and a few other enterprising citizens of the place purchased a newspaper outfit at St. Louis and brought it to Galena, and established a paper called the *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*. It was placed under the management of S. M. Bartlett, a young and intelligent printer. Two or three years later, David G. Bates wrote a short communication for the paper, reflecting on the character of John Turney, a prominent lawyer, and who had

had sinned deeper, and that Clay's enmity was stronger against them. The result has been a clear manifestation and an open declaration, on the part of Clay's friends here, in my favor. My re-election in the House, by a large majority, is certain. I have little to fear in the Senate.

You have seen much speculation on the disagreement between the President and Vice-President. I have not seen all the correspondence, but can say this much to you:

When Mr. Monroe called a Cabinet Council to determine on the answer to be given to the Spanish Minister, in reply to his complaint of the occupation of Pensacola and St. Marks, Mr. Calhoun, being Secretary of War, was of opinion that his orders did not authorize the occupation of those posts; that instructions to sieze them would be an act of war, which the Secretary of War had no right

been a member of the house of representatives in 1828-30, from the district composed of Pike, Adams, Fulton, Schuyler, Peoria, and Joe Daviess counties. Turney demanded the name of the author, and Bartlett gave up the name of Bates. Turney refused to take any notice of Bates and then challenged Bartlett to a duel, which was promptly accepted by Bartlett. The second of Turney was the Hon. Joseph P. Hoge, afterward member of Congress from the Galena district, and now a lawyer residing in San Francisco. Bartlett's second was William A. Warren, now of Bellevue, Iowa. The parties went out to the ground selected for the duel in what was then Wisconsin Territory, seven miles north of Galena, and after one ineffectual fire, the matter was compromised. Subsequently Bartlett removed to Quincy, and was for a long time connected with the publication of the *Quincy Whig*. Turney and Bartlett have both been dead many years. The *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser* then fell under the control of Horace H. Houghton, a printer from Vermont, who, with his various partners, published the paper for nearly a quarter of a century, Mr. Houghton always having full editorial control. He died in Galena, April 30, 1879, being at the time the oldest editor in the State. From the *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, the paper is now published as the *Galena Gazette*, daily and weekly, and has been one of the most successful country papers in the State.

to make, and in this opinion the Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Adams, were unanimous.

The next proposition was, how far was Gen'l Jackson justifiable in taking those posts? Upon this point Mr. Calhoun was of opinion that the propriety of the conduct of the Commander in Chief, depending upon contingencies happening upon the spot, that Gen'l Jackson in the field might do what he, as Secretary of War, had no right to order him to do, and that, as an act of justice to Gen'l Jackson, a Court of *Enquiry* would afford him (Gen'l Jackson), the means of placing the facts of the case in an official shape before the Cabinet, and thus enable the administration to give a proper and full answer to the Spanish Minister. Upon this point, Mr. Monroe suggested that there were considerations growing out of the existing relations between the United States and Spain, which made it proper to sustain Gen'l Jackson without a Court of Enquiry; and after a mature deliberation which lasted three days, the entire Cabinet, consisting of Mr. Adams, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Wirt, and Mr. Calhoun (Mr. Crowninshield being absent), concurred. Mr. Calhoun has from that day to this consistently supported Gen'l Jackson. You ask, how then, has the intercourse between them been suspended?

In the fall of 1827, Mr. Crawford wrote a letter to Mr. Balch, of Nashville, in which he refers to a conversation with Mr. Van Buren, and says there is no other objection to the election of Gen'l Jackson, but the apprehension that it would benefit Mr. Calhoun. He says that an *assurance to him* on that point would secure the vote of Georgia. It

is understood that Mr. Crawford communicated to Gen'l Jackson, through Mr. Hamilton of New York, while at New Orleans, that Mr. Calhoun was in favor of his arrest, and has written a letter which Gen'l Jackson has put into the hands of Mr. Calhoun, charging Mr. Calhoun with opposition to Gen'l Jackson then, and insincerity in his support since. To this Mr. Calhoun has replied. Gen'l Jackson has not withdrawn the charge of insincerity, and the Vice-President is now waiting, and will in all probability come out with a publication in self-defence, unless Gen'l Jackson authorizes others, or should himself withdraw the charge. Letters and statements deeply implicating Mr. Crawford are multiplying in the hands of the Vice-President, and when he does come out, he will be enabled to satisfy every friend that he has acted with propriety in the first place and that he now forbears in consideration of the obligations imposed by his relation to the President and the great Republican party.

I have taken the liberty of giving you these facts under the strongest injunctions of secrecy, and to prepare you for coming events.

Your speech on the subject of the public lands is an able and conclusive document. I intend to reprint it. The question of the public lands is daily attracting more attention and the anti-tariff party of the South anticipates that the West will unite in some modification of the entire system so as to give to the West the fund arising from the sales of public land as a permanent appropriation for purposes of internal improvement. May not this be done?

Philleo is here seeking a sub-agency and promises to buy out the *Galena Advertiser*, and you can be at no loss as to his policy. Can not Warren anticipate him? Or would it not be better to bring him down to Vandalia? Could he get on if he had $500? Let me hear from you on this point.

Kane says that he will support you for Congress against Duncan; of the propriety of being a candidate now you are the best judge. Your old enemy Crawford will be in the field for Vice-President if he is not killed by Mr. Calhoun, I mean politically. I will soon write to you again. Yours, D. GREEN.

P. S. McKee was saved by your letters and friendship before your last was rec'd.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF JOHN REED.*

WASHINGTON CITY, Feb. 3d, 1831.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter and speeches, addressed to the Legislature of Illinois, have been received, and in conformity with your request I have forwarded them to the editor of the "North American Review".

With respect, y'r ob't serv't,

JOHN REED.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

* John Reed was a lawyer at Yarmouth, on Cape Cod. He was a Congress man from Massachusetts for twenty-four years, and was known as the "life member". He was lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts from 1845–51; and died November 25th, 1860.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.

WASH'N, 16th Febr'y, 1831.

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

DEAR SIR:—You will see in the *Telegraph* the address of the Vice-President and the correspondence between him and the President on the subject of the Seminole Campaign. You will see that your old friend Crawford has at length completely outwitted himself. Your good and *true* friend, Gen. Robinson, has thrown himself into the arms of VanBuren and Kane, and he will go for Van unless V. should be driven from the cabinet. Mine is a trying position. I stand on principle, and will not desert Calhoun. There is a strong disposition to rally on him. VanBuren can not command seventy votes in both Houses of Congress. I will write to you more at large in a few days. But I say to you that *now* is your time. Come into Congress if you can. *You* are the only man to keep your State right; you, if here, would control your senators. If you can be elected, you ought to be. Mr. C. will send you a pamphlet, and he will write to you at large. Your friend and relative,

D. GREEN.

P. S.—Do you know that your friend Mitchell is electioneering for Kinney as gov'r of the new Territory?

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTERS OF A. P. FIELD.*

JONESBORO, February 26th, 1831.

DEAR SIR:—Since I left Vandalia, I have been strongly urged to offer for Congress, in opposition to Duncan. I am confident in this part of the State I would get an overwhelming majority; but if you have the most distant idea of offering, I will surrender all pretensions and unite in giving you my warmest support. And on the contrary, if you think it most advisable for you to postpone your claims two years and offer in this district, you may rest assured that I will not be in your way. If Dunn should be taken up and supported by your friends, you know it would be more difficult to get him to consent to decline in your favor than myself. If I do not run, Dunn certainly will. And I do think my prospect of success much more encouraging than his. But I wish it distinctly to be understood that if you have the most distant idea of running, I will at once abandon all such notions toward you. I have the greatest friendship and would under no circumstances whatever do anything that would have the most remote tendency to injure your future prospect. But if you are determined not to offer at this election, I think my old friends would do much better by taking me up, running me in preference to Dunn. I would be glad to hear from you as early as possible.

Your friend, A. P. FIELD.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq'r,
Belleville, Illinois.

* The Dunn spoken of in this letter, was Charles Dunn of Golconda, Pope County, who has been heretofore alluded to.

HALSTEAD'S (at night), 1831.

[Postmarked May 30th].

DEAR SIR:—On arriving at Lebanon, to day, who should I meet but Breese—prepared to make a long speech to the people of the village and neighborhood by *previous arrangement.* A friend who I was fortunate enough to find at the tavern informed me that the people had collected in a grove to hear Breese speak. I immediately went down, engaged him again, and I am confident I never achieved a more signal victory in my life in a speech before the people. Do make some inquiries of Head, Anderson, and Adams, and you will find that I will get a strong support about Lebanon. Give Mitchell a small history of these things. If my friends will only help, I am safe. I shall go right on to Sangamon.

Send me immediately to Vand. a circular. I have not time to write one. Write to Brown and Eddy.

Yours, &c.,

A. P. FIELD.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS.

BEARDSTOWN, 18th June, 1831.

DEAR SIR:—We will have about fourteen hundred men ready to move against the Indians. There are so many that we must have a Brigade. I called Gen. Duncan to act as Brigadier-General. There will be an election for 2 Cols. and 4 Majors. I think we start about Monday

next. The companies are divided to make about 50 or 60 men each.

I received another letter from Gen. Gaines, of the 13th inst. He advises to be "*vigilant*" and to go "*soon*."

I have no news to inform you of. A great spirit of harmony prevails. Your son is well.

Inform the citizens of St. Clair that all the Northern frontier has called on me to protect them, and to be ready to protect. No men will be called out except necessary. Volunteers will be taken in place of drafts. This measure is only to be on the alert.

Your friend,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Gov. N. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF WILLIAM J. GATEWOOD.*

EQUALITY, ILLINOIS, July 10th, 1831.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Field was here on Friday last, and delivered us a speech entirely devoted to battering down the great land question. It was late in the evening when he concluded, and I had no opportunity of answering him. But I have written a communication for the *Kaskaskia*

* William J. Gatewood, better known in his time as "Jeff Gatewood," first appeared in public life as a representative in the legislature from Gallatin County, 1830-32. He was elected senator from the same county in 1834, and again in 1840. Equality, where the letter is dated, was the first county-seat of Gallatin County, and remained so until it was removed to Shawneetown. Mr. Gatewood was regarded in his time as an able lawyer and a man of brilliant talents. After reading the letters of A. P. Field to Gov. Edwards, it must create some surprise to see him antagonizing the governor's doctrine on the land question on the stump.

Democrat, which I hope will be published the next number. I find Mr. Field's doctrines espoused by all of your opponents here. Breese made a favorable impression on that subject, and though I had not intended to go for him at all, on account of the total absence of anything like concert among our friends, I may perhaps. Indeed I was never more astonished in my life than when I heard he, Mr. F., had openly avowed his opposition to those doctrines which *you* had so ably vindicated here. I think his prospect of success here is rather dull.

The publication I have made is a kind of review of his position, and I regret that I am not able to do the subject more justice than is done to it in my publication. I flatter myself I have somewhat extended the arguments in favor of the right we assert, and, as I think, presented some new ones. Will you believe me? I have not read your address regularly through since last winter; but I have reflected a great deal on the subject, and when I have thought I had discovered new arguments, upon turning to your address I found that the topic had been touched by you; for instance, the interpretation or understanding which Virginia had of the words "Freedom, sovereignty, and independence," which are found in the deed of cession, upon examining your address, I find you had touched upon the same thing. Before this I had examined the act of Separation, as it is called, passed by the Virginia Legislature. I have extended the arguments on that a little, to show the sense in which she seems to have understood them by her conduct towards Kentucky.

I received a letter from your brother, Cyrus, on the subject of the national road. I cannot at present be of any service to him, owing to the election; and, besides, Mr. Grant, who is now in my office, tells me he is not provided with paper, and it is owing to that circumstance that I have to send my little matter to the *Democrat.*

With regard to my own affairs. I have been all this spring laboring under a very serious indisposition, so that I was unable to go even to my own Court-house, and could not, as I contemplated, address the people on this land question. It, perhaps, is no loss to the community.

I am, with sentiments of high respect and veneration,

Your most ob't, humble servant,

WM. J. GATEWOOD.

His Excellency NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Letter of John Shackford; acknowledges receipt of letter of introduction to Gabriel Moore; remarkable letter of Duff Green; takes the part of Mr. Calhoun in his quarrel with Gen. Jackson; severe denunciation of Gen. Jackson; charging him with using the patronage as a personal chattel to advance the private interests of a few dependents; if re-elected, will be rendered contemptable; hopes for the rejection of VanBuren as minister to England; Jacksonism to become "a stench in the land"; letter of John Reynolds in relation to holding a State convention at Vandalia; wants Richard M. Johnson nominated for vice-president on the ticket with Jackson; letter of A. P. Field; wants Gov. Edwards' influence in favor of Mr. Bennett as candidate for the State senate; letter of Elias Kent Kane in relation to appointments to West Point; letter of John M. Robinson in relation to the reduction of the price of public lands and on the tariff question; brief sketch of Gen. Robinson; elected United States senator to succeed John McLean, deceased; served two terms; subsequently elected judge of the Supreme Court; died in 1843; letter of David J. Baker; writes in regard to the congressional canvass; greatly pleased at the prospects of Gov. Edwards in the upper counties; what Breese is doing; his dedication of his reports to Kane has disgusted many of his old friends; Judge Pope decidedly and unequivocally for Edwards for Congress; Mather against him; wants to be set right in regard to legislation purposed by him, authorizing the sale of public lands in forty-acre tracts.

LETTER OF JOHN SHACKFORD.*

WASHINGTON, 24th Dec., 1831.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq'r,

Dear Sir:—I duly received the introductory letters you so kindly handed or sent to me. They proved to me very serviceable, at least in the case of your amiable friend, the Hon. G. Moore—who gave to your letter that frank candour which few men observe. He told me today he was greatly indebted to you for past favors—he feels and speaks of them in a sense of gratitude. And I trust even to remember your kindness to me in this matter with corresponding feelings. With sincere thanks,

I am, respectfully, y'r ob. s't,

JNO. SHACKFORD.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF DUFF GREEN.†

WASHINGTON, 14th Jan'y, 1832.

DEAR SIR:—I have received yours, enclosing your advertisement, which I have placed in my *daily*, with

* Gabriel Moore, to whom a letter of introduction was given by Gov. Edwards to Mr. Shackford, was a colleague of Gov. Edwards in the U. S. Senate, and a great friend. He was a distinguished lawyer in Alabama, was four times elected a member of Congress, and was the governor of Alabama from 1829-31, when he was elected United States senator. He died at Caddo, Texas, as late as June 9th, 1844.

† From being the great champion of Gen. Jackson at his first election, Mr. Green seems to have "switched off" during the first term of his administration. In the quarrel between Calhoun and Jackson, Green became a strong partisan of the former. His comments on the manner in which Gen. Jackson dispensed his patronage, apply with equal force to the same state of things

directions that it shall appear occasionally in the country paper. I have also to thank you for the copy of your message on the subject of the public land, a part of which I propose to publish. The letter of which you speak in yours to Gov. Moore has not been received.

I regret to hear of your loss and hope that nothing will prevent your coming to Congress. The next few years are to decide the fate of this Republic. I am well satisfied that if Congress does not take the alarm and modify the tariff, giving a practical abandonment of Mr. Clay's policy, the South will nullify, and the result will be the adoption and acquiescence in the doctrines of the South or a civil war.

The new states stand in much the same relation to the gen'l Government, and must ultimately combine against the project of *selling* the public domain to them. Your doctrine must ultimately prevail, and you should be here to defend it.

Mr. Adams has declared himself decidedly in favor of such a modification as will *satisfy* the South. Mr. Clay has raised his tone and insists upon his policy. Gen'l Jackson shrinks back, and meanly skulks from the responsibility which his position involves. Instead of using the patronage upon the high principle on which it was given to him of promoting the public good, he uses it as a personal chattel, to be administered to advance his own

today. Mr. Green's wish that the nomination of VanBuren might be defeated, as minister to England, was gratified, and he took his leave of England, March 19, 1832. On his return, he was put on the ticket with Jackson for vice-president. He was disappointed in his hope that Jackson would decline a re-election, for he was re-elected, nor did he become a "stench in the land."

re-election and to advance the private interests of a few dependants. Instead of boldly leading for or against the great measure which agitates Congress, he has no plan, or, if any, it is Mr. VanBuren's plan of non-committal. He is consequently failing, and the next four years, if he is re-elected, will but seem to render him contemptible.

Van Buren's nomination hangs upon a balance. I hope it will be defeated on Monday next, when it is understood it will be decided. It is understood that Eaton and Lewis have been largely engaged in speculating in the Indian reservation, and that the proof of *fraud* to an immense amount will be developed. Mr. Everett will move it in next week.

Take my word for it, Jacksonism will become a stench in the land, and there will be a rapid desertion from his party. I am not without hope that he will yet decline a re-election; altho' that hope is but a hope. Do not abandon all hope of seeing the party yet rally on Mr. Calhoun. The family are well and desire to be remembered to you and yours. Your friend and relative,

D. GREEN.

P. S.—I think my individual prospects never were brighter. My standing in Congress is stronger than at any previous time.

Gov. EDWARDS, Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR REYNOLDS.

BELLEVILLE, 3rd Feb'y, 1832.

DEAR SIR:—On reflection and consultation with friends,

I am satisfied the course you proposed is the proper one, in regard to the Vice-Presidency and nominating electors. I have written to Cols. Field and Dement to publish a general state convention, to be held at Vandalia on the 30th March next, to be composed of a member from each county. This convention will be had before the Van Buren men have their meetings.

I want you, if you please, to press the necessity of this measure on our friends in Sangamon and elsewhere in your route. We must all be active, or the Van Buren men will get public sentiment wrong in relation to Johnson. He is the man for our V.-President, to run with Jackson, and to nominate him and the electors for both on the 30th March next. In the interim, we must have our county meetings and get members selected for the State convention.

Your family and friends here are in good health.

Please write me, if you do not soon return.

Your friend,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Gov. EDWARDS,

or, in his absence, to G. FORQUER, Esq'r,

Springfield, Ill.

LETTER OF A. P. FIELD.

VANDALIA, Feb. 29th, 1832.

DEAR GOV.:—Our mutual friend, Mr. Bennett, has become a candidate for the Senate in Bond, Macoupin, and Montgomery; and feels very desirous of getting your aid in the contest. You know Tillson's course has always

been against us. And if Mr. B. should succeed, you may rest satisfied that we will find in him a devoted friend, at a *time, too*, when friends may be needed. You have considerable influence in Bond and Macoupin, and can operate through Tompson and Dew. Mr. B.'s bro. in Mt. G. is one of the most substantial members of the Methodist Church. Your friend,

A. P. FIELD.

Gov. EDWARDS,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF ELIAS KENT KANE.

SENATE CHAMBER, March 6th, 1832.

DEAR SIR:—I received a few days ago yours of the 3d Feb'y ult'o. It will afford me pleasure to join in the recommendation of young Mr. Todd. Candour requires me to say that I have heretofore recommended others for similar app'ts. I feel myself bound, with regard to these app'ts, to present upon equal ground (so far as my humble name may effect the object) all the young men of our state who are respectably recommended, leaving the selection to the Secretary, without any exertion in favour of one over another. This course, just in itself, relieves me from the delicate responsibility of discriminating between young gentlemen whose peculiar merits are usually developed in after-time.

The Senate is now engaged upon the apportionment bill. My impression is that the bill from the House, fixing upon 47,700 as the ratio, will become a law. As to the tariff, I do not believe that the ultra leaders on either

side wish for an accommodation, nor is there a prospect of a compromise. With great respect,

y'r ob't serv't,

E. K. KANE.

Gov. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF JOHN M. ROBINSON.*

WASHINGTON, April 1st, 1832.

DEAR SIR:—A few days ago, Mr. Clay's tariff resolutions, with various amendments, among others an enquiry into the expediency of reducing the price of the public lands and also to dispose of them to the respective States in which they lie, upon reasonable terms were all without adoption referred to the Committee on Manufactures. Day before yesterday, that Committee made a partial report by Bill, reducing the tariff on that class of articles not coming in competition with similar articles of home growth or manufacture. The Bill was laid on the table, and I hope will so remain until a Report be made embracing the whole subject referred, which was every branch appertaining to the revenue. Much of a tariff man as I am, I shall never consent to entirely abolish

* John M. Robinson of Carmi, White County, was elected United States senator, December 11th, 1830, to succeed John McLean, deceased. He was re-elected in December, 1835, and served until 1841—in all a service of twelve years. He does not seem to have been prominent in State politics, and I can not find that he was ever a member of the State legislature. He reached the high position of United States senator on account of his locality in the Wabash country, his success as a lawyer, and his popularity as a man. After retiring from the senate, he was elected judge of the Supreme Court, March 6th, 1843, and died on the 27th day of the following month.

the duties on luxuries and retain them at their present high rates on many of the ordinary and indispensable necessaries of common consumption. And further, now is the favourable time for us of the new States to make a stand for the reduction in price or a transfer to the States of the Public Lands. Now that the public debt is good as paid, and a new system (as to amount, at least) of revenue to be formed, if that system be formed barely for the exigences of the Government, without any change as to price or disposition of the public domain, it will be a kind of estoppel to any future relief on this subject. I say relief, for the present land system is a burthen of the most onerous character to all the new States.

The 40-acre law will pass, though not to the extent as it first passed the Senate; the H. of R. made several amendments, one confining entries by 40 acres to lands which have been offered for sale, another limiting the purchaser to 80 acres, unless for cultivation, or for the use of his improvement, &c. The Senate will have to concur for fear of losing the whole bill.

Your friend and ob'd't ser't,

JOHN M. ROBINSON.

GOV. N. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTERS OF DAVID J. BAKER.*

KASKASKIA, April 21, 1832.

DEAR SIR:— I have just returned from Jonesboro' and

* These letters of Mr. Baker are in regard to the congressional contest in the then first congressional district of Illinois in 1832. The three principal

your favor of the 13th instant was received a few moments since. I am greatly pleased with your prospects in the upper counties, and I hope you are not too sanguine in that quarter. I left our friends Browne, Eddy, Dunn, and others yesterday, and I met Gatewood at Brownsville on my way home. They are all for you except Hardin. Dunn and Field, I am authorized to say, will not be in your way.

In Union, Jackson, and Randolph, I think, you will get a good vote—how good, will depend on occurrences yet to take place and movements yet to be made. Harker is a candidate for the legislature, and so is Whittaker, and the former will, no doubt, be elected. If he does not go *for* you, I think, he *will not act against* you; and if Reynolds should drop him a line in your behalf, the probability is he would be for you. Your old friends, the Dutch, are quite likely to vote for you. In Jackson, Griggs, Creath, and Kinnard, are professedly for you, tho' some of Breese's

candidates were Chas. Slade, Sidney Breese, Chas. Dunn, Henry L. Webb, and Gov. Edwards. Slade was elected, and took his seat on the 2d of December, 1833, serving through the long session. On his way home, July, 1834, he died suddenly in Knox County, Indiana, after an illness of only twenty-four hours. Gov. Edwards came out as a candidate, very reluctantly, only a short time before the election. He declined to make a personal canvass, and limited himself simply to issuing an address to the voters of the district—that, however, could avail but little against the personal exertions of the other candidates, of whom Slade and Breese canvassed the district very thoroughly.

David J. Baker was a native of Connecticut. He removed to Illinois, and commenced the practice of law at Kaskaskia in 1819. Mr. Baker was an able lawyer and a man of high personal character. In the convention contest in 1823, he strongly opposed the calling of the convention, the purpose of which was to make Illinois a slave-state. He served as United States senator, as herein before stated. From Kaskaskia he removed to Alton, Illinois, where he died August 6th, 1869.

friends have tried to turn Creath against you by telling him you wrote to Singleton Kinnard that he (C.) *must be put down;* but C. does not believe you ever wrote such a letter. John Logan told me he had ever been your friend and would go for you, but I have since learned that on Breese telling him you promised not to be a candidate this time, L. said, if you did so promise, he would not support you.

Breese makes many of the people believe he was the first one to propose the law for the sale of land in 40-acre tracts, and that you promised not to offer for congress this time. These two things work more in his favor than any thing else—than *all* other things. And both must fail him, if the truth comes to be known. We think he is *determined* to hold on to the end (he says so), &, I believe, he is playing Judge Phillips *and* setting up for himself, calculating to become the head of a *Breese-party*.

You must visit these counties, and your friends think it advisable for you not to rely upon the land question or say much about it, and by all means not to throw the gauntlet at *any body*.

Your friend sincerely,

DAVID J. BAKER.

P.S.—C. will have his own election to attend to.

In this county Judge Pope will, I am warranted in believing, do what he can to help you—what Mather and Roberts will do I cannot say, but I think they will support you.

D. J. B.

Hon. N. EDWARDS.

KASKASKIA, April 28th, 1832.

To Hon. N. EDWARDS,

Dear Sir:—Since our court adjourned I have had a conversation with Mr. Breese on the subject of your election to Congress. He seems to be greatly dejected, and, I think, despairs of being elected. If he does not give up entirely, my opinion is, that, if you run, he cannot get even a respectable *vote*. The dedication of his book to Mr. Kane has disgusted many of his *old* friends and has gained no *new* ones. He says he is going to Belleville and will see you. I have no doubt that he can be prevailed on to back out, if he is promised fair for time to come; but as to the propriety of encouraging him with the expectation of getting something hereafter, myself and others of your friends have doubts—nor are we persuaded that it is necessary to your success—nor do we know that his backing out will help you; tho' I think it will.

Since I wrote to you I have talked two or three times with Judge Pope. He is for you *decidedly & unequivocally;* tho' some, and I believe, Breese among others, are trying to make out that you are a *nullifier*. Mr. Cowles has, I presume, told you of his talk with Mr. Mather. He says he shall not vote for you, yet promises not to do anything against you. This I regret, because Mather & those connected with him in trade have great influence in this district, having establishments at Chester, at Steele's Mill, and in Washington Co. I do believe, if Mather were to broach the subject to Judge Pope, as doubtless he may, Pope will be able to dissuade him from opposing you. Excuse me if the balance of this letter relates more to

myself than to you, tho' it may *not injure* you for the people to know that I, acting under your appointment, have been the cause of the enacting of a law very beneficial to them.

In *The Globe* of the 7th inst., the bill which has been passed the present session of Congress, called the "40-acre" bill, is ascribed to Mr. Clay, of the House of Representatives. Early in Dec., 1830 (as you know), while I had the honor of a seat in the U. States Senate by your appointment, on the suggestion of Mr. Churchill, contained in a letter received from him, a resolution was introduced by me and passed by that body, directing the Committee on the Public Lands to enquire into the propriety of selling those lands in 40-acre tracts, and also into the propriety of making *donations* of small tracts of land to *actual settlers*, as will be seen by reference to the journal of the U. States Senate.

Upon the adoption of this resolution, I attended before the committee & presented a bill I had drafted, which was reported and passed by that body early in January following; but it was not got through the House. The bill drafted by me contained exactly the *same* provisions that the one now passed contains, except the last two provisions, which were added to it after it left the Senate this session. When I offered the resolution there had been no action in the House, at that session, on the subject, and, if the sale of lands in 40-acre tracts had ever been brought before Congress, prior to my doing it, *I did not know it.*

As you are at Alton frequently, by having what I know is *partly*, and I believe is *wholly* a mistake of the editor of

the *Globe* corrected, you may be giving honor to whom it is due, & obliging

Your friend & obt. servt.,

DAVID J. BAKER.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Letter of John Reynolds, written during the Black-Hawk War from Fort Wilburn; dissatisfaction of the people with him; wants nothing from the people "other than common civility"; wishes his friends to be informed that he is "bullet proof"; cares nothing for slander and will bid a long farewell to public life, and live at home at peace; letter of David J. Baker; wants Gov. Edwards to publicly announce that he is a candidate for Congress; fears Breese may be stronger than supposed; letter of Mr. Baker to James Mitchell in relation to the canvass for Congress; flattering prospects for a good vote in Randolph County; Gov. Edwards' address to the voters of the district; Burke or Fox could not have written so good a one; believes Edwards will be triumphantly elected; letters of A. P. Field; great necessity for Edwards being in the southern part of the district; would like to take the stump for Edwards, but money exhausted; publishers of the Vandalia paper refuse to publish communications; expects "to have a scrape with the damed rascals"; another letter of A. P. Field; wants to meet Breese and measure strength with him on the stump; letters of David J. Baker; writes of the progress of the congressional canvass; handbills to be sent over the district; writes after the election as to the causes of the defeat of Gov. Edwards; the canvass made by Slade; wormed himself into the hearts of the people; voters not committed to Breese stolen away by Slade; the devil let loose against Gov. Edwards.

LETTER OF JOHN REYNOLDS.

FORT WILBURN,* 22nd June, 1832.

DEAR FRIEND:—I am much more concerned at the

* This fort "was situated on the southern bank of the Illinois River, about

anxiety of friends, and you are one, about the dissatisfaction of the people than I am for myself. I have acted right, and should the people not approve, let it be so. It can not hurt me, as I want nothing from them other than common civility. I see in your last letter to me that Mitchell's company wants to be ordered out. Do they know that there are 3400 or 3500 now in the army, and 5 or 600 on the frontier, and not a supply of provisions for them. The frontier is crowded with men, so is the army. It will not do to do wrong to humor a blind infatuation. I am as easy as a rock in the wind, let it blow hard or not. All I am sorry for is that I commenced so good and must continue.

I wish you to inform my friends that I am "bullet proof." I have done right, and care not for slander; that I go in for nothing; that as soon as the storm settles in my favor, which it is compelled to do, I will bid a long farewell to public life and live at home in peace. I am now before the people, I am in for my friends, but you and a few excepted, not one other will write or say one word in my favor. I do not want it, as I care very little about the result.

Snyder had a fight with the Indians; lost 3 vols.—Ben Scott, McDaniel, and Macomson; and killed 4 Indians, at least there were 4 killed. Dodge killed 11

a mile above Peru." The letter was written in the height of the Black-Hawk war, and is in a tone of discouragement, not to say disgust, for he proposes to "bid a long farewell to public life, and live at home in peace." It was Gen. Henry Dodge who was reported to have killed eleven Indians. This was at the battle of Peckitonica. Major J. W. Stephenson was wounded in a skirmish at Buffalo Grove, but not very seriously.

Indians. J. W. Stephenson, it is said, is mortally wounded. Dr. Cornelius is wounded. A man was killed in the Benson settlement, and one at De Page since I arrived here. Blood flows here on a small scale tolerably fast.

I am well, so you will inform my family, and will start in the morning for the Indian country, and will return in 20 or 30 days.

Col. Mill's company is ordered on the frontier for 20 days. A supply can not be had for more troops; and not long for those here.

I see Congress has passed 30,000 dolls. for the war.

Your friend,

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Gov. N. EDWARDS, Belleville, Ill.

LETTER OF DAVID J. BAKER.

KASKASKIA, June 22nd, 1832.

To Hon. N. EDWARDS,

Dear Sir:—If you are a candidate for representative to Congress from this district, as I have for some time felt myself authorized to consider and speak of you, permit me to suggest the propriety of suffering yourself to be publicly announced as such in some of the public newspapers without any further delay. Any longer delay to do this, I am sure, can in no wise benefit or further your election. You are considered as a candidate by your particular and confidential friends, and they have spoken of you as such, I believe, on many occasions, but as the people have not seen you publicly announced, they

aggregately do not look upon you as a candidate, and altho' little is said by them on the subject of the approaching election, many of them have already, and more of them soon will, make up their minds which to vote for of those now in the field. It is only a little time before the election will take place, and I am sure you, however, strong you may be with the people, ought *immediately* to be announced and to go about among them. I fear Breese may be stronger than we have supposed.

As one of your friends I can see no cause why you should longer withhold your name from the public, and more, I am quite certain there can be none. If you back out from being a candidate *now*, your friends will be dissatisfied—if you are not *forthwith* announced, they fear your election, which they cannot but believe quite certain as things now are, will be jeopardized.

These hints are, however, submitted not by way of dictating, but for the consideration of your better judgment.

Most respectfully, your ob't servant,

DAVID J. BAKER.

Hon. N. EDWARDS, Belleville, Illinois.

LETTER OF DAVID J. BAKER TO JAMES MITCHELL.

KASKASKIA, July 10th, 1832.

To JAS. MITCHELL, Esq.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 26th ult. on the subject of Gov. Edwards' election, was duly received. I was

pleased with its contents, and I have often read it and spoken of it in electioneering for him.

About the time of my receipt of it, altho' I never have for a moment doubted that Gov. E. would be elected, I must acknowledge, I was apprehensive he would get but a *slim* vote in this county. But, now, I entertain a very different opinion. Since he has been announced, I have mixed with our people here considerably with the view of finding out their sentiments in regard to him. Capt. McDonough says, he will get a majority in this Co., and I think it not improbable, that he may get a considerable one. Since Maj. Humphreys has declined, tho' it is said he declined in favor of Mr. Slade, many of *his* friends are now going, and, I think, most of them here may be induced to go, for Edwards.

Col. Servant, Francis Ménard (called Brandamore Ménard), and some others of Humphreys' friends have already come out for the Gov'r. So that his friends, E.'s, have reason to be encouraged in this Co. Judge Pope is for him.

His address to the voters of the District will, I have no doubt, do much for him. The matter, in my opinion, is the *best* that could have been put in an address from *him* to the *voters* of this District; and the *style* and *manner* of its execution are the best for such a production I ever saw from him or, *from any body*. It is, in my opinion, a model for the style and manner of such an address, a masterpiece, we all say. Burke or Fox could not have written so good a one on such an occasion, to the voters of Illinois.

I am bound to believe, as things now stand, he will be elected triumphantly. It may be I am too sanguine, because, I hope he will so be elected. Most that I have talked with admit that we need his *talents*, *experience*, *judgment*, and *energy* in the Councils of the Nation.

Your ob't serv't,

DAVID J. BAKER.

P. S. I have already written to many of my friends on the subject of the Gov.'s election, living between here and the Ohio River, and I shall write to more, by the next mail. D. J. B.

J. MITCHELL, Esq., Post-Master,
Belleville, St. Clair Co.

LETTERS OF A. P. FIELD.

VANDALIA, July 24th, 1832.

DEAR GOV.:—Your favor of the 22nd ultimo has been duly received. And I am really sorry to learn you are so much indisposed as I am conscious of the great necessity of your being in the southern part of the district. If I had the means, but my money is entirely exhausted, I would go to Franklin, Pope, Johnson, &c., and address the people for you, and if you could furnish it to me, I would start immediately. My war trip has drained me. Myself and Col. Duncan both handed in pieces to the editors of this paper in your favor and moderately arraigning Mr. Breese, they refused to publish either for the reason, as that Breese has been a great friend, and I expect yet to have a scrape with the *damed Rascals*. Reynolds ought

not to have such a set about him. I called on them to know the reason they had not defended Reynolds against Owen's attack? Their reasons were that they *knew nothing* about it. I defended Reynolds in a short article signed, a Citizen. I am doing what I can for you in Bond and will write to-night all over the South, but if I could go, I could benefit you many votes. I should like to hear from you by Saturday's mail.

Your friend, in haste,

A. P. FIELD.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq.,
Belleville, Illinois.

VANDALIA, July 30th, 1832.

DEAR SIR:—I received your letter by the hand of Mr. McBride, and although unwell, I will start with one of my friends in the morning to Franklin, Gallatin, and Pope, where I am in hopes I can meet Mr. Breese and measure strength with him on the stump. I really can scarcely spare the time, and my means are so limited that I am unable to do you as much good as I would desire. I will try and make an arrangement to have some person in Bond to urge your claims, and I will try and send on to Johnson and Alexander. I intended to have had several publications out for you, that I could not get them in. I was under the necessity to *Kane*, one of the editors, about a publication I sent him in favor of you.

Yours, A. P. FIELD.

NINIAN EDWARDS, Esq'r,
Belleville, Illinois.

LETTERS OF DAVID J. BAKER.

KASKASKIA, July 30th, 1832.

To Hon. N. EDWARDS,

Dear Sir:—Owing to severe indisposition for the last week, I was unable to accompany Ninian to Union Co. I feel much better, however, today—so much better that I have attended to having y'r last handbill printed with Mr. Crittenden's letter. I have got Mr. Fleming to strike off 500 of them, and I have engaged Mr. Spencer P. Adkins to start in the morning to distribute them in the counties of Perry, Jackson, Union, Alexander, Johnson, and Pope. I sent for Capt. McDonough, and he and Mr. Pope and myself consulted on the propriety of sending those bills by your servant Richard, and *unanimously* concluded it would be better to employ some man of character. Mr. Adkins is your friend, and is anxious for y'r election; he was a member—a delegate from this Co. —to the Jackson Convention, that assembled at this place and nominated electors for president. For his services, he is to have $1 per day and his expenses borne.

This morning I started off Mr. Barker, a mail contractor who carries the mail from this place to America, to distribute y'r answer to Sawyer's attack, in this Co. and in Perry. He is y'r friend and a good hand. He will be faithful, and is to have not exceeding $2 per day, and pay his own expenses. I have not heard anybody express a doubt about y'r being elected, except that Amos Anderson told me Mr. Breese said *he* should be elected. I think I have procured two of the best Jackson men in our Co. to distribute your handbills and if they (the handbills)

do not satisfy the people that you was *not opposed* to reducing the price of the public lands, you may despair of doing it.

I feel so much better today that I flatter myself I shall be able to be at Jonesboro' at the election, and, if I am well enough, I intend to be there; and I have determined to start off tomorrow, so as to have plenty of time to electioneer on the way. Most respectfully,

your friend and ob't ser't,

DAVID J. BAKER.

Altho' I have for some days been too unwell to expose myself to the men, I have written letters to Gallatin, Perry, and the counties below here to such persons as I supposed it might be serviceable to write to.

Hon. N. EDWARDS,

Belleville, Ill.

KASKASKIA, Aug. 10, 1832.

To Hon. N. EDWARDS,

Dear Sir:—I left home at the time I told you I would, and went thro' Pinckneyville on my way to Jonesboro', and I stop'd at almost every house and endeavored to see every person I could between this place and Jonesboro'. Two or three days before I left home, I told Judge Pope I suspected the contest, if any there was, would be between you and Mr. Slade, and I became confirmed in this opinion as I traveled on.

At Jonesboro', Grammar was very active for Slade on the day of the election, and Harker did all he could for Breese. Breese bro't down y'r letter to Maxwell, and put

it into Harker's hands, from the *unpublished* contents of which he endeavored to satisfy the people that you could not have been in earnest in giving the votes you did, and in proposing y'r amendments in favor of the reduction of the price of the public lands.

I found most of the men in Jackson and Union, whom Ninian supposed *for* you, taking part against you. Griggs, Kinnard, Connor, and even Creath voted against you. As old Will in his Co. carried all before him, he carried all against you. So far as I am able to discover among the causes why you got so few votes in this quarter, I believe here are to be reckoned as principal ones: 1. Your coming out so late—many of y'r old friends having come under pledges to Breese before your announcement. 2. Your declarations in y'r address in favor of Gen'l Jackson—the old Adams and Clay men, and even some of your old Jackson friends, thinking you had turned, did not like it. 3. Orr's handbill—as vile a thing as ever was put forth—all the truths, if any, it contained being so stated as to become falsehoods, because they produced a false impression; and Breese, altho' when I charge him with doing so he denied it, I have no doubt distributed it—as it never was seen in Brownsville or Jonesboro' until he came there. It is an infamous thing, and ought to disgrace all concerned, either in its fabrication or publication. Breese attended the election at Jonesboro', and the handbill stated he was on his return to the army. (More anon.)

The votes in:

	Slade.	*Breese.*	*Edwards.*	*Webb.*
Union,	245	147	68	72
Jackson,	143	152	46	1
Perry,	81	91	33	—
Randolph,	157	301	61	8

Nothing short of a miracle could have procured very many more votes* for you at the time I went down. Slade had visited every house, and wormed himself into the hearts of the people, and those Breese had not got committed, Slade had stolen away; and the Devil seemed to be let loose against you. If you had made a tour, as you

* The official vote at this congressional election is given herewith. If Gov. Edwards had been in the field in season and had made a serious canvass, there can be no doubt that he would have been triumphantly elected. In that case, probably neither Dunn, Breese, nor Webb would have been candidates, and Edwards would have received a great majority of the votes given to them.

ABSTRACT OF VOTES FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FOR 1ST DISTRICT AT AN ELECTION HELD 1ST MONDAY IN AUGUST, 1832:

Counties.	Chas. Slade.	N. Edwards.	Chas. Dunn.	S. Breese.	Henry L. Webb.
GALLATIN,	533	228	211	190	
POPE,	78	53	334	2	3
JOHNSON,	50	70	169	3	37
ALEXANDER,	2	26	1	19	184
UNION,	245	68		47	78
JACKSON,	143	46		152	1
FRANKLIN,	83	39	294	59	36
PERRY,	81	33		91	
RANDOLPH,	157	61		301	8
MONROE,	92	81		173	
ST. CLAIR,	198	417		262	58
WASHINGTON,	80	75	1	39	11
CLINTON,	195	63		21	1
BOND,	175	30	10	127	33
MADISON,	159	703		160	78
MACOUPIN,	199	85		24	23
	2470	2078	1020	1670	551

expected to do, I can not doubt you would have got a good vote. Your friend and ob't ser't,

DAVID J. BAKER.

P.S.—Old Will is very hostile to you. John Dougherty, a young lawyer, is elected a representative from Union; Alex'r M. Jenkins from Jackson; Rich'd Murphy and [David] Baldrige from this Co. and Perry; and Mather to the Senate. Old Will is, I doubt not, elected. D. J. B.

Hon. NINIAN EDWARDS,

Belleville, Illinois.

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